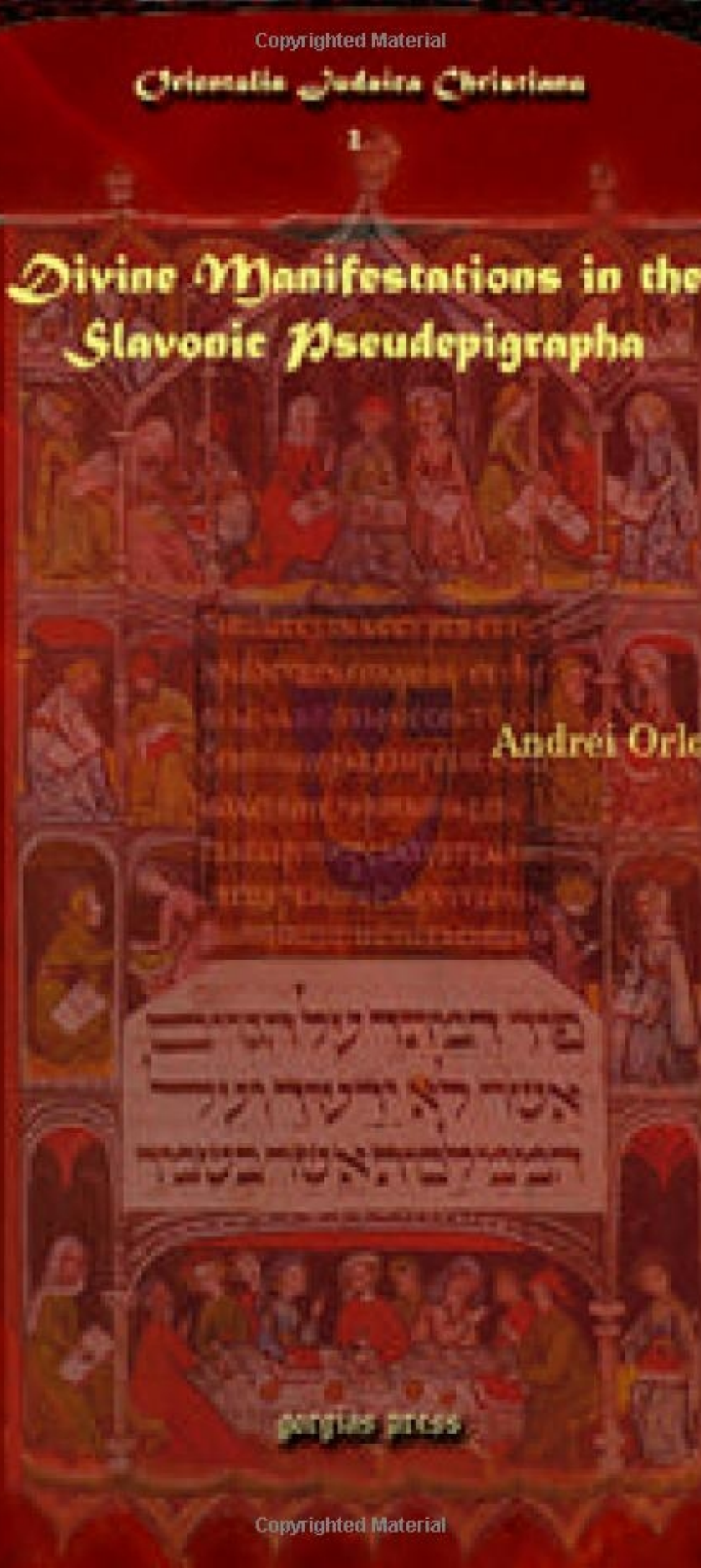
Copyrighted Material

Orientalia Judaica Christiana

1

Divine Manifestations in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha

Andrei Orlov



gorgias press

Copyrighted Material

Divine Manifestations in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha

Orientalia Judaica Christiana

2

Orientalia Judaica Christiana, the Christian Orient and its Jewish Heritage, is dedicated, first of all, to the afterlife of the Jewish Second Temple traditions within the traditions of the Christian East. A second area of exploration is some priestly (non-Talmudic) Jewish traditions that survived in the Christian environment.

Divine Manifestations in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha

Andrei Orlov

gorgias press

2009

For Ian and June Fair

… Then the old man stood up and stretched his hands towards heaven. His fingers became like ten lamps of fire and he said to him, "If you will, you can become all flame."

Apophthegmata Patrum, Joseph of Panephysis, 7.

Abba Bessarion, at the point of death, said, "The monk ought to be as the Cherubim and the Seraphim: all eye."

Apophthegmata Patrum, Bessarion, 11.

Table of Contents

Preface xv

Locations of the Original Publications xvii

List of Abbreviations xix

Introduction. The *Kavod* and *Shem* Paradigms
and Divine Manifestations in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha 1
Silvanus and Anthony 3
Moses and Elijah 8
Enoch and Abraham 12

Part I: The Divine Body Traditions 19

"Without Measure and Without Analogy":
The Tradition of the Divine Body in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch* 21
Introduction 21
Adamic Tradition of *2 Enoch* 23
The Corporeality of the Protoplast 26
From the Four Corners of the World 29
The Measure of the Divine Body 34
Bodily Ascent 37
Adam and Enoch: "Two Powers" in Heaven 38
Two Bodies Created According
to the Likeness of the Third One 43

The Pillar of the World: The Eschatological Role
of the Seventh Antediluvian Hero in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch* 49
Introduction 49
I. The Protological Disintegration: Aeon Adoil
as the Foundation of the World 50

II. The Eschatological Reintegration: The Aeon of the Righteous.....53
The motif of luminosity.....55
The Righteous as the Foundation.....55
III. Enoch-Metatron as the Foundation of the World.....57
Enoch's Righteousness.....57
Enoch's luminosity.....60
Incorruptibility of Enoch.....61
Enoch as the Revealer.....62
Enoch as the Sacerdotal Foundation.....63
Enoch as the Redeemer.....64
Conclusion.....66

The Face as the Heavenly Counterpart of the Visionary in the Slavonic *Ladder of Jacob*.....67
Introduction.....67
The Slavonic Account of Jacob's Vision.....69
The Face as God's *Kavod*.....70
The Face as Jacob's Heavenly Counterpart.....75
Uriel-Sariel-Phanuel.....82
Princes of the Face.....85
Conclusion.....88

"Many Lamps Are Lightened from the One": Paradigms of the Transformational Vision in the *Macarian Homilies*....91
The Background: Transformational Vision of the *Kavod*.....93
In the Likeness of God's Image.....97
Internalization of the *Kavod*.....103
Crystallization of the New Paradigm:
The Macarian Account of the Lord's Transfiguration.....105
Conclusion.....108

Moses' Heavenly Counterpart in the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian.....111
Introduction.....111
I. The Background: The Heavenly Counterpart of the Seer in the Jacob and the Enoch Traditions.....113
The Jacob Traditions.....113
The Enoch Traditions.....114
Angels of the Presence.....117

II. The Heavenly Counterpart of Moses....119
The *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian....119
The Idiom of Standing and the Angel of the Presence....122
The Idiom of the Hand and the Heavenly Counterpart....125
Conclusion....126

Resurrection of Adam's Body:
The Redeeming Role of Enoch-Metatron in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*....129

In the Mirror of the Divine Face: The Enochic Features
of the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian....135
Introduction....135
Oneiromantic Dreams....138
Heavenly Ascent....140
Angelus Interpres....140
Esoteric Knowledge....142
Heavenly Counterpart....144
Stars and Fallen Angels....147
Transformation of the Seer's Face....149

PART II: THE DIVINE NAME TRADITIONS....153

Praxis of the Voice: The Divine Name Traditions
in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*....155
Introduction....155
Biblical Background of the *Shem* Tradition....157
The Voice of the Mighty One:
The Aural Mysticism of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*....164
The Revelation of the Divine Sound....164
The Singer of the Eternal One....165
Praxis of the Voice....167
"No Other Power of Other Form"....170
The Idol of Jealousy....172
Conclusion....173

Celestial Choir-Master: The Liturgical Role of Enoch-Metatron
in *2 Enoch* and the Merkabah Tradition....177
Introduction....177
Priestly Role of the Seventh Antediluvian Patriarch
in Early Enochic Traditions....181

Tabernacle of the Youth: Priestly and Liturgical Roles
of Enoch-Metatron in the Merkabah Tradition....188
Heavenly High Priest....188
Celestial Choirmaster....192
The Beginnings: Liturgical Role of Enoch
in the Slavonic Apocalypse....194
The Servant of God's Face....197
Youth....199
Conclusion....201

The Pteromorphic Angelology of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*....203
Introduction....203
Yahoel, the Bird of Heaven....204
The Turtledove and the Pigeon: Pteromorphic Psychopomps....207
Fallen Angel Azazel, the Impure Bird....209
Invisible Angels....212
Conclusion....214

"The Gods of My Father Terah": Abraham the Iconoclast
and Polemics with the Divine Body Traditions
in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*....217
Introduction....217
Abraham the Iconoclast: The Background of the Imagery....219
Bar-Eshath, the Son of Fire....221
Testing by the Fire....225
Mar-Umath, the One Who is "Heavier than Stone"....230
"A Likeness of the a Craftsman's Work"....232
Conclusion....234

The Watchers of Satanail:
The Fallen Angels Traditions in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*....237
Introduction....237
I. *2 Enoch* 7: The Watchers in the Second Heaven....241
Traces of the Enochic Template....242
Traces of the Adamic Template....245
II. *2 Enoch* 18: The Watchers in the Fifth Heaven....249
Traces of the Enochic Template....249
Traces of the Adamic Template....255
III. The Transitional Template and its Afterlife
in the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* and Hekhalot accounts....259

Three Watchers 260
Enoch as the Celestial Choirmaster of the Watchers 262
Conclusion 266

The Fallen Trees: Arboreal Metaphors and Polemics with the Divine Body Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* 269
Introduction 269
Bar-Eshath 271
The Biblical Background of the Tale of the Fallen Tree 272
The Demoted Cherub 278
The Divine Face 282
Conclusion 283

Index of Modern Authors 285
Subject Index 291

PREFACE

This book contains several essays previously published in journals inaccessible to many interested readers. I am thankful to the editors of these journals for permission to re-use the material. The format and the style of the original publications have been changed to comply with the standards of the collection. Some alterations also have been made due to printing errors or obvious errors of fact. Some footnotes have been omitted as they appeared in more than one article.

I am grateful to Basil Lourié for accepting this volume for the *Orientalia Judaica Christiana* series. I am also indepted to Kassia Senina and the editorial team of the Gorgias Press for their help, patience and professionalism during preparation of the book for publication.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this work to my dear friends Ian and June Fair.

Andrei Orlov
Milwaukee
Pentecost 2009

Locations of the Original Publications

"'Many Lamps Are Lightened from the One': Paradigms of the Transformational Vision in the Macarian Homilies." *Vigiliae Christianae* 55 (2001): 281–98 (with Alexander Golitzin).

"Celestial Choirmaster: The Liturgical Role of Enoch-Metatron in *2 Enoch* and the Merkabah Tradition." *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 14.1 (2004): 3–24.

"The Face as the Heavenly Counterpart of the Visionary in the Slavonic *Ladder of Jacob*." In Evans, C. A., ed. *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture*. Vol. 2, 59–76. Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity, 9. London: T&T Clark, 2004.

"'Without Measure and Without Analogy': The Tradition of the Divine Body in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 56.2 (2005): 224–44.

"Resurrection of Adam's Body: The Redeeming Role of Enoch-Metatron in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*." In Lourié B. and A. Orlov, eds. *The Theophaneia School: Jewish Roots of Eastern Christian Mysticism* (Scrinium 3), 385–9. St. Petersburg: Byzantinorossica, 2007.

"Moses' Heavenly Counterpart in the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian." *Biblica* 88 (2007): 153–73.

"The Pillar of the World: The Eschatological Role of the Seventh Antediluvian Hero in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*." *Henoch* 30.1 (2008): 119–35.

"Praxis of the Voice: The Divine Name Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 127.1 (2008): 53–70.

"'The Gods of My Father Terah': Abraham the Iconoclast and Polemics with the Divine Body Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*." *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 18.1 (2008): 33–53.

"In the Mirror of the Divine Face: The Enochic Features of the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian." In Brooks, G., H. Najman and L. Stuckenbruck, eds. *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*, 183–99. Themes in Biblical Narrative, 12. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

"The Pteromorphic Angelology of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* (2009): forthcoming.

"The Fallen Trees: Arboreal Metaphors and Polemics with the Divine Body Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*." *Harvard Theological Review* 102 (2009): forthcoming.

"The Watchers of Satanail: The Fallen Angels Traditions in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*," unpublished.

List of Abbreviations

AB	The Anchor Bible
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CS	Cistercian Studies Series
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
ETS	Erfurter Theologische Studien
GCS	Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSHRZ	Judische Schriften aus hellenistisch-romischer Zeit
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period*
JSPSS	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
NMS	Nottingham Medieval Studies
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	*New Testament Studies*

OTP	Charlesworth, J. H., ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.* 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]
PG	Migne, J. P., acc. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca.* Parisiis, 1857–1866. 161 vols.
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSP	*Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (supplement to *Numen*)
SJ	Studia judaica
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SJSJ	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TDNT	Kittel, G., G. W. Bromiley, and G. Friedrich, eds. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* Transl. by G. W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids, 1964–76. 10 vols.
TDOT	Botterweck, G. J., and H. Ringgren, eds. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Transl. by J. T. Willis, G. W. Bromiley, and D. Green. Grand Rapids, 1974. 15 vols.
TED	Translations of Early Documents
ThZ	*Theologisches Zeitschrift*
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TTPS	Texts and Translations. Pseudepigrapha Series
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
UBL	Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae*
VT Suppl.	Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum*
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift fur die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

Introduction

The *Kavod* and *Shem* Paradigms and Divine Manifestations in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha

Silvanus and Anthony

In the collections of the sayings of early desert Fathers known as the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, one encounters a series of short narratives about distinguished monastics that have inspired and encouraged many Christian ascetics throughout history. These fragmentary stories from the earliest monks's lives, which sometimes take the form of folk-anecdotes, often strike readers with their unpretentious simplicity. Behind unassuming, almost primitive narrations in these collections, however, lurks a panoply of complex esoteric practices and traditions carefully transmitted and cultivated by generations of adepts.

While the *Apophthegmata Patrum* offer a wealth of spiritual exercises of the ascetic and mystical mold, several stories in the collections seem to exhibit traces of the peculiar ancient apocalyptic praxis in which a human being is able to access the heavenly realm in order to obtain a vision of the Form of the Deity. One of the adepts engaged in such visionary practice in the *Sayings of the Fathers* is Abba Silvanus, an enigmatic ascetic allegedly born in Palestine and flourishing in Syria at the end of the forth century and the beginning of the fifth century. In one of the stories Abba Silvanus is taken to heaven to behold the Glory of God. The *Apophthegmata Patrum* (Silvanus, 3) offers the following depiction of this remarkable spiritual endeavor:

> Another time his disciple Zacharias entered and found him in ecstasy with his hands stretched towards heaven. Closing the door, he went away. Coming at the sixth and the ninth hours he found him in the same state. At the tenth hour he knocked, entered, and found him at peace and said to him, "What has happened today, Father?" The latter replied, "I was ill today, my child." But the disciple seized his feet and said to

> him, "I will not let you go until you have told me what you have seen." The old man said, "I was taken up to heaven (ἡρπάγην εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν) and I saw the glory of God and I stayed till now and now I have been sent away" (Silvanus, 3).[1]

Here an adept is depicted as being grasped in an ecstatic vision of heaven where he beholds nothing less than the Glory of God. Alongside ministering angels participating in celestial liturgy he is standing before the divine *Kavod.* After the visionary encounter the seer safely returns back to his cell where he conveys his apocalyptic experience to a disciple. It is obvious that the ecstatic experience is placed in the story within the distinctive realities of monastic life carefully pinpointed, among other peculiar features, through references to specific chronological divisions of the day.

Yet it is also clear that the mystical praxis of encountering God in a vision reflected in the story of Abba Silvanus is not simply an ascetic novelty that originated in the cells of the first Christian monks; rather it is a custom deeply rooted in the ancient Jewish and Christian apocalyptic traditions that stem from the biblical and extra-biblical accounts. In these materials one can encounter a distinguished row of paradigmatic visionary figures who in the distant past, many centuries prior to Abba Silvanus, ascended into heaven and approached there the Glory of God. It is thus no coincidence that, when mentioning that Abba Silvanus "was caught up into heaven" (ἡρπάγην εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν), the authors of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* seem to be making a subtle terminological connection with the mystical encounter of another prominent visionary who, according to the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, also "was caught up into paradise" (ἡρπάγη εἰς τὸν παράδεισον).[2]

Another fragment from the *Sayings of the Fathers,* also devoted to Abba Silvanus, appears to make the connection with the formative biblical accounts even more transparent. The *Apophthegmata Patrum* (Silvanus, 12) describes a striking luminosity of Silvanus' face and body, the motif which in

---

[1] Ward, B., rev. ed. and tr. *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection*, 222–3. CS, 59. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1986; *PG* 65, 409A.

[2] On this terminological connection, see Golitzin, A. ""The Demons Suggest an Illusion of God's Glory in a Form': Controversy over the Divine Body and Vision of God's Glory in Some Late Forth, Early Fifth Century Monastic Literature." In Lourié, B., and A. Orlov, eds. *The Theophaneia School: Jewish Roots of Eastern Christian Mysticism* (*Scrinium* 3). St. Petersburg: Byzantinorossica, 2007: 49–82 at 72.

several biblical materials is closely linked with the theophanic paradigm of the vision of the divine Glory:

> The Fathers used to say that someone met Abba Silvanus one day and saw his face and body shining like an angel and he fell with his face to the ground. He said that others also had obtained this grace (Silvanus, 12).[3]

It appears that some details of Abba Silvanus' remarkable metamorphosis, namely the seer's shining visage, invoke not only the event of Christ's transfiguration but also the memory of Moses's luminous face after his encounter with the Glory of God on Mt Sinai. This peculiar feature of Mosaic typology, which often serves in various Jewish and Christian materials as a theophanic sign of paradigmatic visionary praxis, looms large in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. The stories of two other distinguished desert ascetics, Abba Pambo and Abba Sisoes, also contain specific references to their shining visages. Pambo 1 reads:

> There was a monk named Pambo and they said of him that he spent three years saying to God, "Do not glorify me on earth." But God glorified him so that one could not gaze steadfastly at him because of the glory of his countenance (Pambo, 1).[4]

Here again the tradition of the seer's glorified countenance, which plays such an important role in the formative biblical and extra-biblical theophanic accounts, is placed in the context of his encounter with the Deity. Although the vision of the divine Glory is not explicit in Pambo 1, another passage in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* makes the theophanic connections more obvious:

> They said of Abba Pambo that he was like Moses, who received the image of the glory of Adam when his face shone. His face shone like lightening and he was like a king sitting on his throne. It was the same with Abba Silvanus and Abba Sisoes (Pambo, 12).[5]

In this passage that compares Abba Pambo with Moses, the seer is also portrayed as a replica of the Glory of God, an anthropomorphic royal figure sitting on a throne. The transformed adept's appropriation of the attributes of the divine *Kavod* is a common feature of the visionary accounts found in the Jewish pseudepigraphic and Hekhalot materials.

---

[3] *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, 224.
[4] Ibid., 196.
[5] Ibid., 197.

The passage also invokes the motif of the prelapsarian glory of Adam, an important theophanic symbol prominent in the anthropomorphic ideology of the divine *Kavod* found in the Book of Genesis and the Book of Ezekiel.

It is also noteworthy that the aforementioned passage from Pambo 12 refers to a distinguished cohort of glorified practitioners, a group that, besides the already known to us Abba Silvanus and Abba Pambo, also includes Abba Sisoes, a desert monk known for his visionary praxis of the heavenly ascent. The *Apophthegmata Patrum* (Sisoes, 14) offers a striking account of the final hours of this ascetic culminating in the adept's approaching the divine Glory and his luminous transformation at the point of his death:

> It was said of Abba Sisoes that when he was at the point of death, while the Fathers were sitting beside him, his face shone like the sun. He said to them, "Look, Abba Anthony is coming." A little later he said, "Look, the choir of prophets is coming." Again his countenance shone with brightness and he said, "Look, the choir of apostles is coming" ... Once more his countenance suddenly became like the sun and they were all filled with fear. He said to them, "Look, the Lord is coming and he's saying, 'Bring me the vessel from the desert.'" Then there was as a flash of lightening and all the house was filled with a sweet odor (Sisoes, 14).[6]

Here the final entrance of the seer into heaven corresponds to the progressive transfiguration of his body hinted at through the gradual glorification of his countenance. The seer's report to his companions during his ascent is also noteworthy in invoking the memory of some later Jewish visionary accounts found in the Hekhalot tradition in which mystical adepts often report to their colleagues and disciples details of their gradual progress into the Merkabah.[7]

It is possible that the practice of the ascent and the vision of God's Glory, combined with the glorification that occurs either at the point of the adept's death, as in the case of Abba Sisoes, or during his lifetime, as in the story of Abba Silvanus, was understood by the authors of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* as the climax of the monastic vocation unfolding in the

---

[6] *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, 214–5.

[7] Thus, for example, in the *Hekhalot Rabbati*, R. Nehuniah ben ha-Qanah reports to his disciples and colleagues, in a state of mystical trance, what he encounters during his celestial tour. Cf. Schäfer, P., with M. Schlüter and H. G. von Mutius. *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, §§ 224–8. TSAJ, 2. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1981.

desert cells.[8] This paramount importance of the mystical practice in the life of a monk appears to be enigmatically summarized by Abba Bessarion in his famous saying uttered at the point of his death:

> Abba Bessarion, at the point of death, said, "The monk ought to be as the Cherubim and the Seraphim: all eye." (Bessarion, 11).[9]

In this respect it does not appear coincidental that Abba Bessarion's affirmation of the significance of the visionary praxis in monastic life — in which a monk is compared with the highest angelic servants beholding God's Glory — occurs at the moment of Bessarion's death — an important crux of transition that seems to be pointing, as in the case of Abba Sisoes, to a unique opportunity of the final ascent, vision, and glorification.

Despite the importance of visionary experiences in monastic life in the aforementioned collections of the desert fathers' sayings, the *Apophthegmata Patrum* does not offer a single, monolithic model for the encounter with the Deity but open to many other forms of spiritual exercises. Thus, some traditions found in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* reveal another mode of divine communication that emphasizes the aural rather than visual aspect of the interaction between the Deity and the adept. The *Sayings of the Fathers* (Anthony 26) reads:

> The brethren came to Abba Anthony and laid before him a passage from Leviticus. The old man went out into the desert, secretly followed by Abba Ammonas, who knew that this was his custom. Abba Anthony went a long way off and stood there praying, crying in a loud voice, "God, send Moses, to make me understand this saying." Then there came a voice speaking with him. Abba Ammonas said that although he heard the voice speaking with him, he could not understand what it said (Anthony, 26).[10]

---

[8] Another passage found in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (Joseph of Panephysis, 7) understands the transformational praxis of glorification also as a pinnacle of the monastic journey: "Abba Lot went to see Abba Joseph and said to him, 'Abba, as far as I can I say in my little office, I fast a little, I pray and meditate, I live in peace and as far as I can, I purify my thoughts. What else can I do?' Then the old man stood up and stretched his hands towards heaven. His fingers became like ten lamps of fire and he said to him, 'If you will, you can become all flame.'" *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, 103. It is noteworthy that this passage shares some similarities with Silvanus' ascent through a reference to a praxis of stretching hands towards heaven.

[9] *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, 42.

[10] Ibid., 7.

Here, in contrast with the previous visionary accounts, Abba Anthony receives no visual signs; the divine is manifested only through a heavenly voice. The passage also underlines the aural praxis of human prayer that in many ways mirrors and re-affirms the auditory revelation of the Deity.

Although Abba Anthony's revelation of the heavenly sound appears on first look to be very different from the visionary praxis of Abba Silvanus and Sisoes, it should not be conceived as completely divorced from them. Rather it can be seen as situated in dialogue, or maybe even polemic, with these traditions.

In this respect it does not seem coincidental that, as in the previously mentioned visionary accounts, the account of Abba Anthony also invokes the memory of Moses, a hero of the visionary paradigm who is posited here as an interpreter of aural revelations. This reference to various theophanic offices of the son of Amram brings us again to the formative accounts found in the biblical books of Exodus and Deuteronomy where the Israelite prophet was privileged to encounter God both through vision and sound.

MOSES AND ELIJAH

As has already been suggested, the aforementioned theophanic traditions found in the monastic Christian accounts did not originate in the abodes of the desert ascetics but rather are examples of the ancient mystical praxis with roots in the biblical and extra-biblical accounts.

Already in the Hebrew Bible one can find complex and elaborate descriptions of various ways of communication between humanity and God. Scholars have long noted that one of the traditions emphasizing the visual aspect of the divine-human interaction, with its keen attention to the anthropomorphic manifestations of the divine Form, received its conceptual crystallization in the Israelite priestly ideology known as the Priestly source. Moshe Weinfeld points out that the liturgical traditions delineated in the Priestly ideology attempt to depict the Deity in "the most tangible corporeal similitudes."[11] The extensive protological speculations found in the Priestly source also try to advance the anthropomorphic understanding of God, a feature crucial for the subsequent elaborations of this theophanic current. Thus, in the Priestly ideology God is understood to have created

[11] Weinfeld, M. *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 191. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

humanity in his own image (Gen. 1:27) and is thus frequently described as possessing a human-like form.[12]

Scholars contend that the anthropomorphic understanding of the Deity was not entirely an invention of the Priestly tradition but has its roots in early pre-exilic sacral conceptions about divine corporeal manifestations found in Mesopotamian literature.[13] The priestly understanding of the corporeal representation of the Deity finds its clearest expression in the conception of the "Glory of God" (כבוד יהוה)[14] — a portentous theophanic symbol that will become an object of aspiration for the subsequent generations of visionaries in various religious traditions. One of the paradigmatic accounts of the portrayal of the divine *Kavod*[15] can be found in the first chapter of the Book of Ezekiel where the seer receives the vision of an enthroned human form enveloped by fire.[16]

Alongside forceful anthropomorphic ideologies promulgating the possibility of encountering the Deity in a vision, the Hebrew Bible also attests to another important theophanic current that emphasizes auditory revelations of God. Often these two trends are in competition with each other. Scholars have long noted a sharp opposition of the book of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic school to early anthropomorphic developments. In fact, the Deuteronomic school is widely thought to have initiated a polemic against anthropomorphic and corporeal conceptions of the Deity and the possibility of encountering the divine Form in a vision.[17] Thus, Weinfeld argues that

> ...Deuteronomy has ... taking care to shift the centre of gravity of theophany from the visual to the aural plane. In Exod. 19 the principal

---

[12] Ludwig Köhler and Moshe Weinfeld argue that the phrase, "in our image, after our likeness" precludes the anthropomorphic interpretation that the human being was created in the divine image. Köhler, L. "Die Grundstelle der Imago-Dei Lehre, Genesis i, 26." *ThZ* 4 (1948): 16ff; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 199.

[13] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 199.

[14] Ibid., 200–1.

[15] The term כבוד can be translated as "substance," "body," "mass," "power," "might," "honor," "glory," "splendor." In its meaning as "glory" כבוד usually refers to God, his sanctuary, his city, or sacred paraphernalia. The Priestly tradition uses the term in connection with God's appearances in the tabernacle. P and Ezekiel describe כבוד as a blazing fire surrounded by radiance and a great cloud. Weinfeld, M. "כבוד" *TDOT*, 7: 22–38.

[16] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 201.

[17] Ibid., 198.

> danger confronting the people was the likelihood that they might "break through to the Lord to gaze" ... Indeed, the pre-deuteronomic texts always invariably speak of the danger of *seeing* the Deity ... The book of Deuteronomy, on the other hand, cannot conceive of the possibility of seeing the Divinity. The Israelites saw only "his great fire" ... God himself remains in his heavenly abode. The danger threatening the people here, and the greatness of the miracle, is that of *hearing* the voice of the Deity: "Did any people ever hear the voice of a god speaking out of the midst of the fire as you have heard, and survived?"[18]

In an effort to dislodge ancient anthropomorphism, which represented the core of the visual theophanic paradigm, the book of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic school promulgated the anti-corporeal theology of the divine Name with its conception of sanctuary (tabernacle) as the exclusive dwelling abode of God's Name.

Tryggve Mettinger argues that the Deuteronomic theology was ...

> ... programmatically abstract: during the Sinai theophany, Israel perceived no form (תמונה); she only heard the voice of her God (Deut 4:12, 15)... [its] preoccupation with God's voice and words represents an *auditive, non-visual theme.*[19]

One of the early examples of polemics between the visual ideology of the divine Form (*Kavod*), which is often labeled in the theophanic accounts as the divine Face (*Panim*), and the aural theology of the divine Name, or the divine Voice, can be found in Exod 33 where, upon Moses' plea to behold the divine *Kavod*, the Deity offers an auditive alternative by promising to reveal to the seer his Name:

> Then Moses said, "Now show me your glory (כבדך)." And the Lord said, "I will cause all my goodness to pass in front of you, and I will proclaim my name (וקראתי בשם), the Lord, in your presence... but," he said, "you cannot see my face (פני), for no one may see me and live."

This account appears to highlight the opposition between visual and aural revelations, focusing on the possibility of encountering the Deity not only through form but also through sound. One mode of revelation often

---

[18] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 207–8. For criticism of Weinfeld's position, see Wilson, I. *Out of the Midst of Fire: Divine Presence in Deuteronomy*, 90–2. SBLDS, 151. Atlanta: Scholars, 1995.

[19] Mettinger, T. N. D. *The Dethronement of Sabaoth. Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies*, 46. Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament Series, 18. Lund: Wallin & Dalholm, 1982. See also Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 193.

comes at the expense of the other — the idea hinted at in Exod 33 and articulated more explicitly in Deut 4, "You heard the sound of words, but saw no form (תמונה)." Scholars point to a paradigm shift in Deuteronomy's switch of the revelatory axis from the visual to the aural plane.[20] In this new, theo-aural, as opposed to theo-phanic, understanding, even God's revelation to Moses on Mt. Sinai in Exod 19, an event marking a vital nexus of the visual anthropomorphic paradigm, becomes now reinterpreted in the terms of its aural counterpart. Deut 4:36 describes the Sinai theophany as hearing of the divine Voice:

> Out of heaven he let you hear his voice that he might discipline you; and on earth he let you see his great fire and you heard his words out of the midst of the fire.

Here the revelation is not received in the form of tablets, the media that might implicitly underline the corporeality of the Deity; rather "the commandments were heard from out of the midst of the fire... uttered by the Deity from heaven."[21] This transcendent nature of the Deity's revelation that now chooses to manifest itself as the formless voice in the fire eliminates any need of its corporal representation in the form of the anthropomorphic Glory of God. A classic example of this imagery can be found in the account of God's appearance to Elijah on Mount Horeb in 1 Kings 19:11–13:

> He said, "Go out and stand on the mountain before the Lord, for the Lord is about to pass by." Now there was a great wind, so strong that it was splitting mountains and breaking rocks in pieces before the Lord, but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire a sound of sheer silence. When Elijah heard it, he wrapped his face in his mantle and went out and stood at the entrance of the cave. Then there came a voice to him that said, "What are you doing here, Elijah?"

The depiction of the Deity's activity and presence as the voice in the fire became one of the most distinctive features of the aniconic *Shem* theology[22] found in the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic materials that

---

[20] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 207.

[21] Ibid., 207.

[22] Mettinger notes that "it is not surprising that the Name of God occupies such central position in a theology in which God's words and voice receive so much emphasis." Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*, 124.

would play a very important role in later Jewish pseudepigraphical and targumic accounts.

ENOCH AND ABRAHAM

Despite the notable prominence of theophanic symbolism in the materials associated with the Hebrew Bible, arguably the most profound conceptual expressions of the visual and aural manifestations of the Deity were developed in the extracanonical accounts of the so-called pseudepigraphical writings. In these apocalyptic materials the already familiar patriarchs and prophets of the Bible were portrayed as recipients of the most recondite revelations of the Divinity manifested in both visual and in aural form.

Similar to later rabbinic and patristic writings, the pseudepigraphical accounts stir their readers' imagination with a rich tapestry of theophanic trends and currents. For a focused overview of the *Shem* and *Kavod* conceptual developments in the extra-biblical pseudepigraphical accounts, two early Jewish apocalypses are instructive. These writings are *2 (Slavonic) Enoch* and *Apocalypse of Abraham*, texts where the ideologies of the divine Form and the divine Name possibly come to their most paradigmatic expressions. It is noteworthy that both of these important specimens of Jewish apocalyptic thought were preserved in the Slavonic language and circulated in the eastern Christian environment. Despite that both writings share a similar transmission history, their theophanic language, however, is strikingly different as they strive to convey manifestations of God in the peculiar symbolisms of their unique theophanic paradigms.

Thus, *2 Enoch*, can be seen as the apex of the visual theophanic paradigm in which the *Kavod* theology receives possibly its most elaborate articulation. The apocalypse depicts the heavenly tour of the seventh antediluvian patriarch Enoch during which he receives revelations from angels and God. In accordance with the conceptual matrix of the visual theophanic praxis, the revelation of the divine Form, labeled in the text as the divine Face, is envisioned in *2 Enoch* as the pinnacle of the exalted seer's revelatory experience The authors of the Slavonic apocalypse use even the structure of the text to underline the importance of this disclosure: the information about the divine Face comes in the central section of the narration. In fact, 2 *Enoch*, contains not one but two theophanic descriptions involving the motif of the divine Countenance. The first occurs in *2 Enoch* 22 that portrays Enoch's dramatic encounter with the Glory of God in the celestial realm. Enoch recounts:

> I saw the view of the face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot in a fire and brought out, and it emits sparks and is incandescent. Thus even I saw the face of the Lord. But the face of the Lord is not to be talked about, it is so very marvelous and supremely awesome and supremely frightening. And who am I to give an account of the incomprehensible being of the Lord, and of his face, so extremely strange and indescribable? And how many are his commands, and his multiple voice, and the Lord's throne, supremely great and not made by hands, and the choir stalls all around him, the cherubim and the seraphim armies, and their never-silent singing. Who can give an account of his beautiful appearance, never changing and indescribable, and his great glory? And I fell down flat and did obeisance to the Lord (*2 Enoch* 22:1–4, the longer recension).[23]

The importance of the vision of the divine Form for the distinctive theophanic ideology in *2 Enoch* is also highlighted by the fact that the seer's encounter of the divine Face becomes one of the central points of his revelation to his children.

In chapter 39 Enoch reports his theophanic experience to his sons during his short visit to earth, adding some new details. Although both portrayals show a number of terminological affinities, the second account explicitly connects the divine Face with the divine anthropomorphic "Extent," known also as the Glory of God or *Kavod*. *2 Enoch* 39 reads:

> And now, my children it is not from my lips that I am reporting to you today, but from the lips of the Lord who has sent me to you. As for you, you hear my words, out of my lips, a human being created equal to yourselves; but I have heard the words from the fiery lips of the Lord. For the lips of the Lord are a furnace of fire, and his words are the fiery flames which come out. You, my children, you see my face, a human being created just like yourselves; I am one who has seen the face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot by a fire, emitting sparks. For you gaze into my eyes, a human being created just like yourselves; but I have gazed into the eyes of the Lord, like the rays of the shining sun and terrifying the eyes of a human being. You, my children, you see my right hand beckoning you, a human being created identical to yourselves; but I have seen the right hand of the Lord, beckoning me, who fills heaven. You see the extent of my body, the same as your own; but I have seen the extent of the Lord, without measure and without analogy, who has no end... To stand before the King, who will be able

---

[23] Andersen, F. I. "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch." In *OTP*, vol. 1, 136.

> to endure the infinite terror or of the great burning (*2 Enoch* 39:3–8, the shorter recension).[24]

In both theophanic descriptions the notion of the divine Face plays a crucial role. It is no coincidence that in both of them the Countenance of the Deity is associated with light and fire. In this respect the descriptions found in the Slavonic apocalypse represent a continuation of biblical theophanic currents. Already in the biblical theophanic developments found in the Hebrew Bible, smoke and fire are understood as a divine envelope that protects mortals from the sight of the divine Form. Radiant luminosity emitted by the Deity fulfills the same function, signaling the danger of the direct vision of the divine Form. In some cases luminosity also represents a screen that protects the Deity from the necessity of revealing its true Form. In some theophanic traditions God's Form remains hidden behind his light. The hidden *Kavod* is revealed through this light, which serves as a luminous screen, the Face of this anthropomorphic extent. *2 Enoch's* theophanies, which use the metaphors of light and fire, may well be connected with such traditions where the divine "Extent" is hidden behind the incandescent "Face" that covers and protects the sovereignty of the Lord. It is clear that in *2 Enoch* 39:3–6 the Face of the Deity seems to be understood not simply as a part of God's body (his Countenance) but as a radiant *façade* of his entire anthropomorphic Form. This identification between the Lord's Face and the Lord's Form is reinforced by an additional parallel pair in which Enoch's face is identified with Enoch's form:

> You, my children, you see my face, a human being created just like yourselves; but I am one who has seen the face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot by a fire, emitting sparks... And you see the form of my body, the same as your own: but I have seen the form (extent) of the Lord, without measure and without analogy, who has no end (*2 Enoch* 39:3–6).[25]

The association between the divine Face and the divine Form in *2 Enoch* 39:3–6 also alludes to the aforementioned biblical tradition from Ex 33:18–23 where the divine *Panim* is mentioned in connection with the glorious divine Form — God's *Kavod*:

> Then Moses said, "Now show me your glory (כבדך)." And the Lord said, "I will cause all my goodness to pass in front of you, and I will pro-

---

[24] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 163.

[25] Ibid., 163.

> claim my name, the Lord, in your presence... but," he said, "you cannot see my face (פנ֑י), for no one may see me and live."

In light of this account, it becomes clear that in *2 Enoch,* like in the Exodus, the impossibility of seeing the divine Face is understood not simply as the impossibility of seeing a particular part of the Deity but rather as the impossibility of seeing any part of his glorious Body. It is therefore possible that in *2 Enoch* 39:3–6, like in Ex 33:18–23, the divine Face serves as the *terminus technicus* for the designation of the divine anthropomorphic extent — God's *Kavod.*

One can see that the traditions identical or similar to those found in Ex 33 or *2 Enoch* 22 and 39 may have exercised a formative influence on the later Jewish and Christian theophanic currents comparable to those found in the *Apophthegmata Patrum.* The early desert fathers too were privileged to receive a vision of the divine Form and, as a result, underwent the glorious transformation of their countenances and bodies. One encounters the same luminous metamorphosis in *2 Enoch* where the body and face of seventh antediluvian hero is depicted as covered with light.

Like in the accounts of the desert fathers who were glorified by the divine presence, in the Slavonic apocalypse the luminous metamorphosis of the seer takes place in front of the Lord's glorious "Extent" labeled in *2 Enoch* as God's Face. In *2 Enoch* 22 the vision of the divine Face has dramatic consequences for Enoch's appearance. The patriarch's body endures radical changes as it becomes covered with the divine light. This encounter transforms Enoch into a glorious angelic being "like one of the glorious ones, and there was no observable difference."[26] This phrase describes Enoch's transition to a new celestial identity as "one of the glorious ones."

Similar to the accounts of the ascetics in the *Sayings of the Fathers*, the Slavonic apocalypse also hints to the glorification of the patriarch's countenance. Thus, in *2 Enoch* 37, similarly to the divine Countenance, Enoch's face acquires a degree of luminosity that poses danger for ordinary creatures of flesh and blood. In *2 Enoch* 37 the Deity must call one of his special angelic servants to chill Enoch's face before his return to earth. The angel, who "appeared frigid," then chilled Enoch's face with his icy hands. Immediately after this procedure, the Deity tells Enoch that, if his face had not been chilled, no human being would have been able to look it. The chilling procedure indicates that Enoch's metamorphosis near the Face in-

---

[26] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 139.

volves the transformation of his human face into a fiery, dangerous entity that now resembles the *Kavod.* These strange rituals surrounding the seer's face bring to memory the familiar biblical traditions of Moses' luminous countenance and his protective veil.

All these peculiar details of the seer's metamorphosis show that the Slavonic apocalypse represents a new formative stage in the development of the visionary paradigm where the symbolic features of this theophanic trend receive their long-lasting epitomic expressions.

In contrast to *2 Enoch*, another Jewish apocalypse preserved in the Slavonic environment, the *Apocalypse of Abraham,* exhibits striking features of a different theophanic trend. Unlike *2 Enoch,* the Abrahamic pseudepigraphon emphasizes the aural aspect of the encounter with the Deity, while, at the same time, engaging in polemics with the anthropomorphic theology of the Divine form.

Although the apocalyptic imagery found in the pseudepigraphon appears to stem from the theophanic paradigm of the early Merkabah speculations similar to those found in Ezek 1, *1 En.* 14, and the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian, the authors of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* appear to consistently re-fashion this traditional theophanic imagery in accordance with a new aniconic template that insists on expressing the divine Presence in the form of the Deity's Voice.[27] In his comparative analysis of the accounts from Ezekiel and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, Christopher Rowland notes that, while preserving the angelology of Ezekiel's account, the author of the Slavonic apocalypse carefully avoids anthropomorphic descriptions of the *Kavod* substituting them with references to the divine Voice.

These aniconic tendencies can be observed already in the very beginning of the second, apocalyptic section of the work. The very first manifestation of the Deity to the seer found in chapter 8 takes the form of theophany of the divine Voice that is depicted as coming from heaven in a stream of fire.

> And as I was thinking about these things, here is what happened to my father Terah in the courtyard of his house: The voice of the Mighty One came down from heaven in a stream of fire, saying and calling, "Abraham, Abraham!" (*Apoc. Ab.* 8:1).[28]

---

[27] On hypostatic voice of God, see Charlesworth, J. H. "The Jewish Roots of Christology: The Discovery of the Hypostatic Voice." *Scottish Journal of Theology* 39 (1986): 19–41.

[28] Kulik, A. *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha: Toward the Original of the Apocalypse of Abraham*, 16. Text-Critical Studies, 3. Atlanta, 2004.

The divine Voice appears continually in the narrative. More notably, in *Apoc. Ab.* 9:1 the voice of "the primordial and mighty God" commands Abraham to bring sacrifices, and in chapter 10 it appoints the angel Yahoel as a celestial guide of the exalted patriarch.

This peculiar expression of the Deity as the voice erupting in fiery stream will subsequently become a customary theophanic expression appearing multiple times in the apocalypse, including the climatic account of the revelation given to Abraham in the seventh firmament. There, in his vision of the throne room, which evokes memories of Ezekelian angelology, the hero of the faith sees not the human-like form of God but the Deity's formless voice:

> And above the Wheels there was the throne which I had seen. And it was covered with fire and the fire encircled it round about, and an indescribable light surrounded the fiery people. And I heard the sound of their *qedusha* like the voice of a single man. And a voice came to me out of the midst of the fire, saying, "Abraham, Abraham!" And I said, "Here am I!" (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:13–19:2).[29]

This tendency to substitute the anthropomorphic depiction of the Deity with expressions of the divine Voice or Name is, of course, not a novel development of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* authors but a specimen of the long-lasting tradition the roots of which can be seen seen in the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic biblical materials.

In the *Apocalypse of Abraham* the aural symbolism of divine disclosures constitutes the basis for a new theophanic praxis that is now opposed to the visionary paradigm. The center of this mystical experience consists in the mutual aural communication between the Deity and the adept that, like in the case of Abba Anthony, involves the practitioner's prayer and praise.

The identification of divine manifestation with the Voice or the Sound in *Apoc. Ab.* thus underlines the importance of praise as a parallel process of the aural expression of creation in relation to its Creator. The authors of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* seem to view praying to and praising of God as a mystical aural praxis that in many ways mirrors the visionary praxis of the *Kavod* paradigm.

In conclusion it should be noted that the consequences of the polemical interplay between the two revelatory trends in *2 Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* appear to have exercised a lasting influence on the development of future Jewish and Christian theophanic traditions.

---

[29] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 24.

The purpose of the current collection is to explore the formative theophanic patterns found in such pseudepigraphical writings as *2 Enoch*, *Apocalypse of Abraham,* and the *Ladder of Jacob* where the visual and aural mystical trends undergo their creative conflation and thus provide the rich conceptual soil for the subsequent elaborations prominent in later patristic and rabbinic developments.

The visionary and aural traditions found in the Slavonic pseudepigrapha are especially important for understanding the evolution of the theophanic trends inside the eastern Christian environment where these Jewish apocalyptic materials were copied and transmitted for centuries by generations of monks. As has been shown, the mystical testimonies reflected in Christian ascetic literature, including the aforementioned accounts from the *Apophthegmata Patrum,* show remarkable similarities with the transformational accounts found in these Jewish pseudepigraphical writings. These early apocalyptic specimens of visual and aural traditions that were carefully copied, translated and preserved in the monastic environments seem to have had profound influence on the form and content of the theophanic symbolism of the eastern Christian tradition. The extent of these influences, however, has never been explored in any systematic way. Moreover, despite a renewed scholarly interest in the doctrine of the *theosis*, almost all recent studies of this important tradition have been reluctant to include any discussion of these Jewish pseudepigraphical writings.[30] Yet, the distinctive pursuits in the attainment of immortality on display in these transformational accounts where the heroes acquire their new heavenly identities during their initiation into the celestial community appear to point to the very roots of the ancient praxis of deification.

---

[30] Thus, for example, a recent study by Norman Russell (*The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition.* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004) does not even mention *2 Enoch* and *Apocalypse of Abraham* — two pivotal apocalyptic accounts circulated in the eastern Christian environment for millennia.

Part I:
The Divine Body Traditions

"Without Measure and Without Analogy": The Tradition of the Divine Body in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*

Introduction

In one of his books[31] Gershom Scholem remarks on the origins of the terminology associated with the *Shi'ur Qomah* materials.[32] These materials depict visionaries, Rabbi Ishmael and Rabbi Akiba, receiving from the supreme angel Metatron revelations of the "measurement of the body" (in Hebrew, *Shi'ur Qomah*), an anthropomorphic description of the Deity together with the mystical names of its gigantic limbs.[33] Although the majority of evidence of the *Shi'ur Qomah* tradition survived in late Jewish writings, Scholem argues[34] that the beginning of *Shi'ur Qomah* speculations can be dated not later than the second century CE. Scholem appeals to a passage in *2 Enoch*, a Jewish apocalypse apparently written in the first century CE, which in his opinion represents the earliest witness to the *Shi'ur Qomah* terminology.

The passage is situated in *2 Enoch* 39 where the antediluvian patriarch Enoch tells his children about the vision of the Lord, whom he encountered during his celestial tour. Enoch describes the appearance of the Lord as a terrifying extent analogous to the human form:

---

[31] Scholem, G. *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah*, 29. New York: Schocken, 1991.

[32] For texts and translations of the *Shi'ur Qomah* materials, see: Schäfer, Schlüter and von Mutius, *Synopse*; Cohen, M. *The Shi'ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions.* TSAJ, 9. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1985; Schäfer, P., et al. *Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur.* TSAJ, 17, 22, 29, 46. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1987–95.

[33] Scholem, G. *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 20. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

[34] Ibid., 20.

> And now, my children it is not from my lips that I am reporting to you today, but from the lips of the Lord who has sent me to you. As for you, you hear my words, out of my lips, a human being created equal to yourselves; but I have heard the words from the fiery lips of the Lord. For the lips of the Lord are a furnace of fire, and his words are the fiery flames which come out. You, my children, you see my face, a human being created just like yourselves; I am one who has seen the face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot by a fire, emitting sparks. For you gaze into (my) eyes, a human being created just like yourselves; but I have gazed into the eyes of the Lord, like the rays of the shining sun and terrifying the eyes of a human being. You, (my) children, you see my right hand beckoning you, a human being created identical to yourselves; but I have seen the right hand of the Lord, beckoning me, who fills heaven. You see the extent of my body, the same as your own; but I have seen the extent of the Lord,[35] without measure and without analogy, who has no end .... (*2 Enoch* 39:3–6).[36]

In his commentary on the text, Scholem draws the reader's attention to the expression "the extent of my body." He notes that earlier Abraham Kahana, in his Hebrew translation of *2 Enoch*,[37] rendered this expression as *shi'ur qomati*.[38] Scholem further suggests that despite the late date of the known rabbinic *Shi'ur Qomah* materials, the *Shi'ur Qomah* terminology might be already evident in the account drawn from *2 Enoch* 39 where Enoch describes God's gigantic limbs.

Scholem's suggestions are valuable[39] and deserve serious attention, since several additional features in the aforementioned account of *2 Enoch* also seem to suggest the imagery found in the *Shi'ur Qomah* tradition. In the

---

[35] **ѡбьѧтие Господне**. Соколов, М. Н. "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе. Выпуск 3. VII: Славянская книга Еноха. Тексты, латинский перевод и исследование" [Sokolov, M. N. "Materials and notes on the old Slavonic literature. Fasc. 3, VII: Slavonic book of Enoch: text with Latin translation"]. *Чтения в обществе истории и древностей российских* [*Lectures in the Society of Russian History and Antiquities*] IV (1910): 1–167 at 38, 94.

[36] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 163.

[37] Kahana, A. "Sefer Hanok B." In *Ha-Sefarim ha-Hitsonim le-Torah*, 102–41. Jerusalem, 1936f.

[38] Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape*, 29.

[39] Ithamar Gruenwald supports Scholem's position, suggesting that the expression found in *2 Enoch* 39 may represent the first reference to the *Shi'ur Qomah* of God. Cf. Gruenwald, I. *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 213. AGJU, 14. Leiden: Brill, 1980. For criticism of Scholem's position, see: Cohen, M. S. *The Shi'ur Qomah:*

Slavonic apocalypse, Enoch describes to his children the gigantic hand of the Lord which fills the heaven. This description recalls the imagery of the *Shi'ur Qomah* accounts in which Enoch-Metatron transmits to Rabbi Ishmael and Rabbi Akiba knowledge about the gigantic limbs of the Deity which fill the heaven. A series of analogies between Enoch's body and the Lord's body in *2 Enoch* 39:3–6 appears also pertinent because the later Merkabah accounts often portray Enoch-Metatron as possessing the gigantic body himself. Moreover, some of these accounts seem to depict Metatron as the measure of the divine Body.

Scholem's comments about the significance of *2 Enoch* 39 for the history of early Jewish mysticism are important. His analysis, however, is incomplete since it focuses only on the *Shi'ur Qomah* passage found in chapter 39. It does not explore the broader context of the passage, especially its relation to other descriptions of Enoch in the Slavonic apocalypse that seem to recall the depictions of Metatron in the *Shi'ur Qomah* materials. Moreover, it appears that the traditions about the divine Body are not limited in this text to the figure of Enoch and include another important character of the text, namely, the patriarch Adam. The portrayal of the prelapsarian Adam found in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* reveals fascinating similarities to the later *Shi'ur Qomah* descriptions. Keeping in mind these important features of the Slavonic apocalypse, this article will investigate the roles of Adam and Enoch in the broader context of the *Shi'ur Qomah* account found in *2 Enoch*.

Adamic Tradition of *2 Enoch*

Before proceeding to an investigation of the traditions about the divine Body found in the Slavonic apocalypse, a short excursus into the Adamic narrative of *2 Enoch* is necessary. This narrative appears partly to be responsible for creating the polemical context in which the divine Body traditions in the text are introduced and discussed.

Adam's story occupies a significant place in *2 Slavonic Enoch*. Accounts of the protoplast's creation and his fall can be found in all three major sections of the book.[40] The text depicts Adam as a glorious angelic being, predestined by God to be the ruler of the earth, but falling short of God's expectations. Although a large part of the Adamic materials belongs to

---

Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism, 80. New York: University Press of America, 1983.

[40] *2 Enoch* 30:8–32:2; 33:10; 41:1; 42:5; 44:1; 58:1–3; 71:28.

the longer recension, a number of important passages related to this tradition are also attested in the shorter recension. The presence of Adamic materials in both recensions and the significance of the Adamic narrative for the whole theological framework of the Slavonic apocalypse lead the interpreter to conclude that they are not later interpolations, but belong to the original layer of the text.

It should be noted that such an extensive presence of Adamic materials in the early Enochic text is quite unusual. For instance, in the Enochic books, included in *1 (Ethiopic) Enoch,* Adamic traditions are not accentuated and are limited to a few insignificant remarks.[41] Moreover, Adam's image in *1 Enoch* is quite different from the one attested in the Slavonic apocalypse. *1 Enoch's* materials do not provide any information about the elevated status of the protoplast.

The modest role which Adam plays in the early Enochic books can be explained by the fact that Enochic and Adamic traditions often contend with each other in offering different explanations of the origin of evil[42] in the world.[43] From the point of view of this rivalry between Adamic and Enochic traditions, it might appear that the concentrated presence of Adamic materials in *2 Enoch* represents alien accretions interpolated into the original narrative much later during its long transmission in the Christian environment. A closer examination of the text, however, reveals that the presence of the Adamic tradition in the Slavonic apocalypse is neither secondary nor coincidental but has a profound conceptual value for the overall theology of the pseudepigraphon. It appears that the purpose of the extensive presence of Adamic materials in *2 Enoch* can be explained through the assessment of Enoch's image in the text.

Scholars have previously noted that Enoch's figure, portrayed in the various sections of *2 Enoch*, is more developed than in the early Enochic tractates of *1 Enoch.* For the first time, the Enochic tradition tries to portray the patriarch, not simply as a human taken to heaven and transformed into

---

[41] See, *1 Enoch* 32:6; 37:1; 60:8; 69:9–11; 85:3; 90:37–38.

[42] The Enochic tradition bases its understanding of the origin of evil on the Watchers story where the fallen angels corrupt human beings by passing on to them various celestial secrets. In contrast, the Adamic tradition traces the source of evil to Satan's disobedience and the transgression of Adam and Eve in Eden.

[43] Stone, M. "The Axis of History at Qumran." In Chazon, E., and M. E. Stone, eds. *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 133–49. STDJ, 31. Leiden: Brill, 1999; Reeves, J. C. *Exploring Early Jewish Mythologies of Evil* (forthcoming).

an angel, but as a celestial being exalted above the angelic world. In this attempt, one may find the origin of another image of Enoch (very different from the early Enochic literature) which was developed much later in Merkabah mysticism — the concept of the supreme angel Metatron, "the Prince of the Presence."[44] It is therefore possible that the traditions about the exalted status of Adam were introduced in *2 Enoch*, for the first time in the Enochic tradition, in order to enhance the new profile of the seventh antediluvian patriarch.[45]

The elevated prelapsarian condition of the protoplast as the archetype of exalted humanity appears to serve in the Slavonic apocalypse as a model for constructing the new super-angelic identity of Enoch. In *2 Enoch* the seventh antediluvian patriarch acquired a host of roles and qualities which the Adamic narrative of the Slavonic apocalypse associates with the proto-

---

[44] Philip Alexander observes that "the transformation of Enoch in *2 Enoch* 22 provides the closest approximation, outside Merkabah literature, to Enoch's transformation in *3 Enoch* 3–13." Alexander, P. "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch." In *OTP*, vol. 1, 248.

[45] In 1987 Moshe Idel published an article in which he explored the role of the Adamic traditions in shaping the image of Enoch as the supreme angel Metatron. Although Idel's research deals mainly with later rabbinic materials, it demonstrates that already in some pseudepigraphic accounts Enoch appears to be portrayed as a luminous counterpart of Adam who regained Adam's glory, which was lost during the protoplast's transgression. Idel suggests that Enoch's luminous metamorphosis attested in *2 Enoch* 22 might also belong to the same tradition which views Enoch as the one who regained Adam's lost status and luminosity. He observes that to the best of his knowledge "Enoch is the only living person for whom we learn that luminous garments, reminiscent of Adam's lost garments of light, were made." Idel, M. "Enoch is Metatron." *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990): 220–40. Alexander, in his recent research, adds new insight to Idel's argument about the formative value of the Adamic traditions for the image of the elevated Enoch. Alexander points to a number of rabbinic passages in which the "supernatural radiance" of Adam's heavenly soul, which departed from him when he sinned, then returned to be reincarnated in Enoch. He further observes that "behind these passages is a concept of Metatron as a divine entity first incarnate in Adam and then reincarnate in Enoch. Enoch, having perfected himself, in contrast to Adam, who sinned and fell, re-ascends to his heavenly home and takes his rightful place in the heights of the universe, above the highest angels... Enoch thus becomes a redeemer figure — a second Adam through whom humanity is restored." Alexander, P. "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch." In Stone, M. E., and T. A. Bergren, eds. *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible*, 111. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998.

plast. One of these transferences includes the tradition of Adam's cosmic body that seems to play a formative role in creating such new identities of Enoch as the *measure* and the *measurer* of the divine Body in the Slavonic apocalypse.

THE CORPOREALITY OF THE PROTOPLAST

The later Jewish materials associated with the Merkabah tradition often depict Enoch-Metatron as the one who possesses a corporeal structure of cosmic dimensions. One of such testimonies can be found, for example, in *3 Enoch* 9,[46] which describes the transformation of the patriarch Enoch into the supreme angel Metatron. According to this text, during this celestial metamorphosis Enoch-Metatron "was enlarged and increased in size till [he] matched the world in length and breadth."[47] The materials associated with the *Shi'ur Qomah* tradition[48] also describe Enoch-Metatron in similar terms, telling that "the stature of this youth fills the world[49] (והנער הזה קומתו מלא העולם)."[50]

Despite the prominent place that the traditions about the cosmic body of Enoch-Metatron occupy in the later Merkabah accounts, the early Enochic materials of the Second Temple period are silent about the great dimensions of the body of the elevated patriarch. The Enochic traditions attested in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, *Genesis Apocryphon* and the *Book of Giants* do not provide any hints about Enoch's gigantic body. In contrast to this silence about Enoch's corporeality, several early Jewish sources attest to the lore about the enormous body of another Biblical character, the patriarch Adam, which the protoplast possessed before his transgression in Eden.

---

[46] See also: *3 Enoch* 48C:5–6: "I increased his stature (קומתו) by seventy thousand parasangs, above every height, among those who are tall of stature (בכל רומי הקומות). I magnified his throne from the majesty of my throne. I increased his honor from the glory of my honor. I turned his flesh to fiery torches and all the bones of his body (גופו) to coals of light. I made the appearance of his eyes like the appearance of lightning, and the light of his eyes like 'light unfailing.' I caused his face to shine like the brilliant light of the sun." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 312; Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 36–7.

[47] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 263.

[48] Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions*, 159. Cf. also Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy*, 162.

[49] "His body is 30,000,000 parasangs, and they call him, 'Lad.'" Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions*, 40–1.

[50] Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 162.

Thus, Philo in *QG* 1.32 unveils a tradition according to which "[the first humans] ... were provided with a very great body and the magnitude of a giant...."[51] A similar testimony can be found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, a Jewish text written around the first century CE. The *Apocalypse of Abraham* 23:4–6 relates the description of the terrifying corporalities of the protoplasts:

> And I looked at the picture, and my eyes ran to the side of the garden of Eden. And I saw there a man very great in height and terrible in breath, incomparable in aspect, entwined with a woman was also equal to the man in aspect and size. And they were standing under the tree of Eden....[52]

Moreover, in some pseudepigraphical accounts the body of the protoplast is portrayed, not simply as gigantic, but even as comparable with the dimensions of the divine corporeality. Thus, in several pseudepigraphical materials the depictions of Adam's stature are often linked to the imagery of the enthroned divine anthropomorphic extent known from the priestly and Ezekelian sources as God's *Kavod*. One such association might be hinted at in *2 Enoch* 30; here the *Kavod* imagery seems to have been applied to Adam's prelapsarian condition. In this text the protoplast is labeled as "the second angel" to whom the Lord assigned four special stars. Jarl Fossum suggests[53] that, in view of the imagery attested in another Enochic texts where stars often designate angels, the allotment to Adam of the "four special stars" might allude to the fact that Adam, like God, also has his own "Princes of the Presence" — the four angels whose function is to serve near the Throne of Glory. This angelic imagery signals that *2 Enoch*'s authors might understand Adam as an enthroned entity resembling the Lord's glorious anthropomorphic extent, his *Kavod*.[54]

---

[51] Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, 19. Tr. by R. Marcus. Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press/Heinemann, 1949.

[52] Rubinkewicz, R. "Apocalypse of Abraham." In *OTP*, vol. 1, 700.

[53] Fossum, J. "The Adorable Adam of the Mystics and the Rebuttals of the Rabbis." In Cancik, H., H. Lichtenberger, and P. Schäfer, eds. *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion. Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag.* Vol. 1, 535, n. 39. (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1996.

[54] Further support for the suggestion that in *2 Enoch* Adam is enthroned is offered in that the text says that the Lord created open heaven in order that Adam might look upon the angels singing the triumphal song. This detail again recalls the traditional *Kavod* imagery where the angelic hosts sing the triumphal song before the enthroned King.

The *Testament of Abraham* 11:4 (Recension A) also attests to a similar tradition when it offers a depiction of "the first-formed Adam" seated on the throne at the entrance to paradise at the end of time: "And outside the two gates of that place, they saw a man seated on the golden throne. And the appearance of that man was terrifying, like the Master's."[55] Here again Adam is depicted as a resemblance of the Lord's *Kavod*, the divine Form manifested on the Seat of Glory.[56]

It is intriguing that in Georgian, Armenian and Latin versions of the primary Adam books,[57] the protoplast is depicted as a being venerated by angelic hosts.[58] The tradition about the angelic veneration of the protoplast might also point to associations with the *Kavod* tradition in which one of the essential functions of angelic hosts in the celestial realm is veneration of the enthroned divine Glory.

The heterodox movements in early Christianity that are closely associated with Sethian and Adamic traditions also contain several important testimonies about Adam's body pertaining to the subject of our investigation.[59] Some of these accounts recall the imagery found in the later Merkabah accounts. Thus, the *Apocryphon of John* relates a tradition according to which the seven powers were responsible for the creation of the seven souls of Adam.[60] The text relates that the seven powers provided for the angels the seven substances of the soul in order to create the proportions

---

[55] Sanders, E. "Testament of Abraham." In *OTP*, vol. 1, 888.

[56] On the traditions of Adam's enthronement, see: Munoa, P. *Four Powers in Heaven. The Interpretation of Daniel 7 in the Testament of Abraham*, 87–90. JSPSS, 28. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.

[57] Cf. Georgian, Armenian, and Latin versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve* 13:2–14:2.

[58] Michael Stone recently demonstrated that one of the earliest instances of this tradition can be found in *2 Enoch* 22 where Enoch is transformed after the glory of God into a glorious angelic being venerated by angels. Stone points to the original Adamic mytheme behind this Enochic imagery. Stone, M. E. "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve*." In Anderson, G., M. Stone and J. Tromp, eds. *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays*, 47. SVTP, 15. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

[59] Cf. for example: Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 1.30.6 "Ialdabaoth exclaimed, 'Come, let us make man after our image.' The six powers, on hearing this ... jointly formed a man of immense size, both in regard to breadth and length."

[60] Waldstein, M., and F. Wisse, eds. *The Apocryphon of John: Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices II, 1; III, 1; and VI, 1 with BG 8502, 2*, 88–91. NMS, 33. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

of the limbs of Adam.[61] In the *Apocryphon* each of the limbs of the first man corresponds to the name of the angel responsible for its creation.[62] The detailed attention to the limbs of the first man and their naming according to angelic connotations seem to recall the later *Shi'ur Qomah* materials with their tendency to name the various parts of the cosmic body and for providing the detailed depictions of its limbs.[63]

All these early testimonies demonstrate that long before the traditions about the gigantic physique of Enoch-Metatron took their distinctive mold in the Merkabah tradition, a similar imagery was already applied in the Jewish pseudepigrapha and the Christian apocrypha to Adam's prelapsarian corporeality. As already mentioned, earlier scholars proposed that the Adamic imagery played a formative role in the shaping of the Metatron tradition. It is also possible that the concept of the cosmic body of the protoplast played a formative role in constructing the later Metatron's office as the measurer of the divine Body. The beginning of this significant development might be detected already in *2 Enoch*. In order to support this hypothesis, our investigation will proceed in the following manner. First, we will explore in detail the tradition of Adam's body in the Slavonic apocalypse. Then, we will focus on the theme of Enoch's corporeality in the text. Finally, we will try to establish the relationship between both traditions in their connections with the motif of the Lord's *Shi'ur Qomah* found in chapter 39.

From the Four Corners of the World

According to *2 Enoch* 30:12, the prelapsarian Adam was a very special celestial being. The Slavonic apocalypse defines him as a second angel who was great (Slav. **великъ**) and glorious. The Slavonic terminology used for the term "great" (**великъ**) appears to be related to the physical dimensions of the protoplast. *2 Enoch* 30:10 provides additional proof that the greatness might designate Adam's proportions. In this passage the Lord says that "even at his [Adam's] greatest (**въ великѣ**) he is small, and again at his smallest he is great."[64] The conjunction of the term "great" with the term

---

[61] Waldstein and Wisse, *The Apocryphon of John*, 93.

[62] Ibid., 95–111.

[63] Cf. Stroumsa, G. G. "Polymorphie divine et transformations d'un mythologème: l'Apocryphon de Jean et ses sources." *VC* 35 (1988): 412–34.

[64] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 152.

"small" further supports the hypothesis that the epithet "greatness" in the text is applied to the dimensions of the first human.

Besides these general references to the "greatness" of Adam, the text also provides other hints about the dimensions of the patriarch's body. It appears that the most important evidences about the unusual frame of the protoplast in the Slavonic apocalypse are conveyed via the traditions about the creation and the naming of the protoplast.

In *2 Enoch* 30:13 the Lord tells Enoch that he created Adam out of the seven components and assigned to Adam a name from the four "components:" from East — (A), from West — (D), from North — (A), and from South — (M).[65] The correspondence of the anagram of Adam's name with the four corners of the earth might indicate that the dimensions of his body are considered identical with the size of the earth. The Slavonic text, however, does not make this connection explicitly.

Moreover, the question remains if this passage about the anagram is really linked to the traditions about Adam's body. The analysis of the early evidences of the anagram's motif shows that this theme was often connected with the theme of Adam's bodily form. In order to illustrate this point, a short excursus in the history of this tradition is needed.

One of the early Jewish texts where a similar[66] tradition about the anagram can be found is the third book of *Sibylline Oracles*, a composition apparently written in Egypt around 160–50 BCE.[67] It is intriguing that already in the *Sibylline Oracles* 3:24–27[68] the anagram is linked to the motif of Adam's bodily form: "Indeed it is God himself who fashioned Adam, of four letters, the first-formed man, fulfilling by his name east and west and south and north. He himself fixed the shape of the form of men (αὐτὸς δ' ἐστήριξε τύπον μορφῆς μερόπων τε)."[69] The term "shape of the form" (τύπον μορφῆς) here seems to be related to the body of the protoplast. The

---

[65] The letters of this anagram correspond to Gk. ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, and μεσημβρία.

[66] The *Sibylline Oracles* have a slightly different sequence of the "corners": east-west-south-north.

[67] Collins, J. J., "Sibylline Oracles." In *OTP*, vol. 1, 355–6.

[68] John Collins observes that *Sibylline Oracles* 3:1–45 "finds its closest parallels in the Jewish Orphic fragments, which probably date to the second century B.C., and also in Philo." Collins, "Sibylline Oracles," 360.

[69] Ibid., 362; Kurfess, A.-M., ed. *Sibyllinische Weissagungen*, 72. Berlin: Heimeren, 1951.

conflation of the anagram of Adam's name with the shape of his form is significant for our investigation.[70]

Another Egyptian source, a passage found in the writings of the Hermetic author, the alchemist Zosimos of Panopolis who lived in Alexandria in the late third or early fourth century CE,[71] also connects the tradition about the anagram of Adam's name with his body:[72] "... they have also spoken of him [Adam] symbolically, *according to his body*, through the four elements ... for his 'alpha' element indicates the east, the air, while his 'delta' element indicates the west, and the 'mu' element [indicates] midday ...."[73]

It should be noted that the *Sibylline Oracles* 3 and the Zosimos passage, the two early attestations which link the anagram of Adam's name with his body, are both associated with the Egyptian milieu. A passage from Philo mentioned in our previous investigation indicates that by the first century CE the lore about the gigantic physique of the first humans appeared to be widespread in the Alexandrian environment. *2 Enoch*, which also contains a host of traditions pertaining to the protoplast's body, might have been also composed at the same time and place, namely, in the Alexandrian Diaspora of the first century CE.

The tradition in which the anagram of Adam's name was associated with his body was not lost in the melting pot of the Alexandrian environment but was carefully transmitted by later Jewish traditions. The same tendency to link the name of Adam derived from the Greek designations of the four corners of the world with his body is observable in the rabbinic materials. The difference between the early accounts found in the *Sibylline Oracles* and Zosimos of Panopolis and these rabbinic materials is that the

---

[70] *Vita Adae et Evae* 27:1 also connects Adam's name with "the memory of the divine majesty." This expression might serve to designate Adam's glorious form, which represents "memory" or likeness of the divine form: "... My Lord, Almighty and merciful God, holy and faithful, do not let the name of the memory of your majesty be destroyed (*ne deleatur nomen memoria tuae maiestatis*)." Anderson, G. A., and M. E. Stone, eds. *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve. Second Revised Edition*, 32–32E. Early Judaism and Its Literature, 17. Atlanta: Scholars, 1999.

[71] Festugière, A. J. *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, Vol. I. *L'Astrologie et les sciences occultes*, 239. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1983.

[72] Cf. Pearson, B. A. "Enoch in Egypt." In Argall, R. A., B. A. Bow and R. A. Werline, eds. *For A Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, 222. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000.

[73] For the Greek text, see: Berthelot, M. E., and Ch.-Ém. Ruelle. *Collection des Anciens Alchimistes Grecs*. Vol. 2, 231. Paris: Georges Steinheil, 1888.

latter explicitly identify the anagram, not simply with Adam's body, but with his cosmic body, which according to the rabbinic accounts was created "from one end of the universe to the other." This tradition is attested in a great variety of the rabbinic sources. For example, the passage from *Gen R.* 8:1 reads:

> R. Tanhuma in the name of R. Banayah and R. Berekiah in the name of R. Leazar said: He created him [Adam] as a lifeless mass extending from one end of the world to the other; thus it is written, Thine eyes did not see mine unformed substance (Ps. CXXXIX, 16). R. Joshua b. R. Nehemiah and R. Judah b. R. Simon in R. Leasar's name said: He created him filling the whole world. How do we know [that he stretched] from *east to west*? Because it is said, "Thou hast formed me behind and before." From *north to south*? Because it says, Since the day that God created man upon the earth, and from the one end of heaven unto the other (Deut. IV, 32) and how do we know that he filled the empty spaces of the world? From the verse, "And laid Thy hand upon me" (as you read, Withdraw Thy hand from me (Job XIII, 21)).[74]

This passage indicates that the speculations about the cosmic body of the protoplast in the rabbinic literature were juxtaposed with the tradition about the correspondence of Adam's name with the four corners of the earth. It is remarkable that the passage from *Gen. R.* 8:1 has exactly the same "sequence" of the corners as *2 Enoch*, namely "from east (A) to west (D)" and from "north (A) to south (M)," which precisely corresponds to the sequence of the letters of Adam's name. The presence of the anagram in the midrashic text points to its ancient Hellenistic origin since the anagram does not carry any meaning in Hebrew, but only in Greek. This tradition about the correspondence of Adam's cosmic body with the four corners of the world and the four letters of his name was widespread in rabbinic literature and was repeated multiple times in *Gen. R.* 21:3, *Gen. R.* 24:2, *Lev. R.* 14:1, and *Lev. R.* 18:2. It is significant that all these passages have the same order of the corners of the world: from east to west and from north to south. A similar tradition can be also found in the *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* and the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* where the motif of Adam's gigantic body created from the four corners of the world is conflated with the story of the veneration of the protoplast by the creatures who mistakenly perceived him as a deity. *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 11 reads:

---

[74] *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 1, 54–5. Tr. by H. Freedman and M. Simon. London: Soncino, 1939. 10 vols.

> He [God] began to collect the dust of the first man from the four corners of the world... He [Adam] stood on his feet and was adorned with the Divine Image. His height was from east to west, as it is said, "Thou hast beset me behind and before." "Behind" refers to the west, "before" refers to the east. All the creatures saw him and became afraid of him, thinking that he was their Creator, and they came to prostrate themselves before him.[75]

In the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* 6–12, the same tradition is repeated in a virtually identical form:

> ...God then called Gabriel, and said unto him: "Go and bring Me dust from the four corners of the earth, and I will create man out of it".... He [Adam] stood upon his feet, and was in the likeness of God; his height extended from the east to the west, as it is said, "Behind and in front Thou hast formed me." Behind, that is the west, and in front, that is the east. All creatures saw him and were afraid of him; they thought he was their creator, and prostrated themselves before him.[76]

The testimonies from *Midrash Rabbah*, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* and the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* demonstrate that in the Jewish materials the anagram tradition was consistently interpreted as a reference to the cosmic body of the protoplast, created from one end of the universe to the other. In light of this tendency, it is possible that the tradition about the anagram found in *2 Enoch* 30 also represents a reference to the cosmic body of the protoplast. This suggestion is made more plausible when one considers that the anagram tradition in *2 Enoch* 30:13 follows immediately after the definition of the protoplast as a great celestial creature.[77]

---

[75] *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, 76–9. Tr. by G. Friedländer. New York: Hermon Press, 1965.

[76] *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, 14–7. Tr. by M. Gaster. Oriental Translation Fund, 4. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1899.

[77] Another tradition found in chapter 30 about the creation of Adam from the seven components might also serve as an allusion to the cosmic body of the protoplast. The description found in *2 Enoch* 30:8 relates that Adam's flesh was created from earth; his blood from dew and from the sun; his eyes from the bottomless sea; his bones from stone; his reason from the mobility of angels and from clouds; his veins and hair from the grass of the earth; his spirit from the Lord's spirit and from wind. It is possible that by such postulations the text intends to stress that the primordial Adam was the creature of macrocosmic dimensions since Adam's creation from the seven elements refers to Adam as a microcosm, e.g. the anthropomorphic representation of the world. The motif of creation from the

THE MEASURE OF THE DIVINE BODY

As has been already mentioned in the introduction, *2 Enoch* 39 depicts the Lord's body as a huge extent "without measure and without analogy." While the text unambiguously states that the Lord's extent transcends any analogy, the account of Enoch's vision of the Lord seems in itself to represent a set of analogies in which the descriptions of the patriarch's face and the parts of his body are compared with the descriptions of the divine Face and the parts of the Lord's Body.

Several details in this narrative are important for establishing the connection between *2 Enoch's* account and the later Jewish traditions about the divine Body.

1. It is significant that, through the analogical descriptions introduced in chapter 39 for the first time in the Enochic tradition, a significant bond was established between the immense body of the Lord and Enoch's body; this bond will later play a prominent role in Merkabah mysticism. In *2 Enoch*, as with later Merkabah developments, the proximity between the two bodies appears also to be reinforced by additional metaphors. These metaphors are intended to demonstrate the closeness between the corporeality of the Deity and the Enoch-Metatron corporeality.[78] From the Merkabah materials one can learn that "the hand of God rests on the head of the youth, named Metatron."[79] In *2 Enoch* 39:5 the patriarch uses a similar metaphor when he tells his children that he has seen the right hand of the Lord helping (beckoning)[80] him.[81]

---

seven elements might also be linked to the traditions associated with *Shi'ur Qomah* mysticism. The previously mentioned passage from the *Apocryphon of John*, where the *seven* powers create the seven "souls" of Adam might shed additional light on *2 Enoch's* account of Adam's creation from the *seven* elements.

[78] Ithamar Gruenwald observes that "it is hard to say whether any method lies behind these measures, but we assume that originally the measures aimed at conveying the notion of ideal proportions. These proportions were shared by God and man alike." Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 214.

[79] *Synopse*, § 384.

[80] The same imagery can be found in Ezekiel the Tragedian's *Exagoge* 72: "Upon it sat a man of noble mien, becrowned, and with a scepter in one hand while with the other he did beckon me...." Robertson, R. G. "Ezekiel the Tragedian." In *OTP*, vol. 1, 812.

[81] Cf. also *2 Enoch* 24:2 (the shorter recension). "And the Lord called me; and he placed me to the left of himself closer than Gabriel." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 143.

2. In the Merkabah materials the divine corporeality is labeled as the Measure of the Body[82] (שיעור קומה). The same terminology is often applied to Enoch-Metatron's body. According to one of the Merkabah texts, "the stature (קומתו) of this youth fills the world."[83] The link between the body of the patriarch and the divine Body in the Slavonic apocalypse is also emphasized by identical terminology. It, therefore, comes as no surprise that in *2 Enoch* the *Shi'ur Qomah* terminology is applied, not only to the body of the Lord (the stature[84] of the Lord), but also to the body of the patriarch (stature of my [Enoch's] body).
3. In *2 Enoch* 39, Enoch's body seems to serve as the measure and the analogy through which the patriarch conveys to his children the immeasurability of the Lord's stature. In *2 Enoch* 39:6 the term *without measure*[85] (Slav. **бєзмѣрно**) is used immediately after the expression "the *stature*[86] of the Lord."[87] This conflation of the concepts of "stature" and "measure" further strengthens G. Scholem's hypothesis that *2 Enoch* 39 might attest to the pre-

---

[82] G. Scholem observes that the term *qomah* was often translated as "height" ("Measurement of the Height"), used in the Biblical sense. He stresses that such translation does not apply to the Merkabah materials where *qomah*, like in the Aramaic incantation texts, signifies "body." Cf. Scholem, G. *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 364. New York: Schocken, 1954.

[83] Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 162.

[84] Slav. **ѡбѣтїѧ, ѡбьѧтиє**. Соколов, "Материалы," 38, 94.

[85] Some *Shi'ur Qomah* descriptions also stress the idea of the immesurability of the divine Face: "...The image of His face and the image of His cheeks is as the dimensions of the spirit and as the creation of the soul, such that no one can recognize it, as it is stated (in Scripture): 'His body is *tarshish*.' His splendor is luminous and glows from within the darkness, and (from within) the cloud and fog that surround Him and although they surround Him, all the princes of the Presence (supplicate) before Him as (obediently as water flows when it is poured from) a water-pitcher, because of the vision of His comeliness and beauty. There is no measurement (מדה) in our hands; the names (alone) are revealed." Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions*, 47.

[86] Slav. **ѡбьѧтиє (ѡбѣтїѧ)** literally can be translated as "embrace." This noun is related to the Slavonic verb — to embrace somebody, to fold somebody in one's hands. Francis Andersen translates the term as "scope" (the longer recension) and "extent" (the shorter recension).

[87] *2 Enoch* 39:6 "...I have seen the stature of the Lord, without measure and without analogy..."

cise *Shi'ur Qomah* terminology, since the term שיעור can be translated as a measure.[88]

4. It is also important that the message about the impossibility of measuring[89] the Lord's body comes from the mouth of Enoch, depicted in various sections of *2 Enoch* as a measurer responsible for measuring various earthly and celestial phenomena.[90] It demonstrates a remarkable parallel to the later role of Metatron as the one who conveys to visionaries the measure/the stature of the Body. In the *Shi'ur Qomah* section of the *Merkavah Rabbah*, the following tradition is attested: "I said to him, to the Prince of Torah,[91] teach me the measure of our Creator, and he said to me the measure of our Creator, and he said to me the measure of the body (שיעור קומה)." (*Synopse* §688).[92] In later Jewish mysticism Enoch-Metatron himself is described as the measure[93] of the divine Body.

---

[88] Markus Jastrow translates the term as "proportion," "standart," "definite quantity," "size," or "limit." Jastrow, M. *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. Vol. 2, 1565. New York: Shalom, 1967.

[89] The stress on the immesurability of God in *2 Enoch* does not contradict the theology of the *Shi'ur Qomah* tradition. Peter Schäfer observes that "the *Shi'ur Qomah* tradition does not intend to state that God can be 'calculated,' that he is, so to speak, a superman of enormous yet exactly measurable and conceivable dimensions ... the completely absurd calculations is to demonstrate that God cannot be conceived of in human categories: he, 'as it were,' is like a human being and yet hidden." Schäfer, P. *The Hidden and Manifest God. Some Major Themes in Early Jewish Mysticism*, 149–50. Tr. by A. Pomerance. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992.

[90] See, for example, *2 Enoch* 40:2–12: "I know everything, and everything I have written down in books, the heavens and their boundaries and their contents. And all the armies and their movements I have measured. And I have recorded the stars and the multitude of multitudes innumerable... The solar circle I have measured, and its rays I have measured... The lunar circle I have measured, and its movements... I measured all the earth, and its mountains and hills and fields and woods and stones and rivers, and everything that exist...." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 164–6.

[91] = Metatron.

[92] Schäfer et al, *Synopse*, 252.

[93] Stroumsa, G. G. "Form(s) of God: Some Notes on Metatron and Christ." *HTR* 76 (1983): 269–88.

In the conclusion of this section, it should be stressed that our analysis of the description of the Lord's corporeality in chapter 39 indicates that several features of this account manifest remarkable similarities to the concepts and imagery of the divine Body found in the later Hekhalot and Merkabah writings. The development detectable in the Slavonic apocalypse, however, seems to represent a very early form of this tradition, which contains a vague sketch of what will take its definitive form in Jewish mysticism much later.

Bodily Ascent

It has been previously mentioned that Enoch's image in *2 Enoch* appears to be quite different from his portrait in the early Enochic circle. Among the new features that constitute this new enhanced profile of the seventh antedeluvian patriarch, a significant one can be found that seems related to our ongoing discussion about the cosmic body traditions in the Slavonic apocalypse. This important feature appears in the first chapter of *2 Enoch*, which describes the beginning of Enoch's celestial ascent.

In *2 Enoch* 1:3 the reader finds the patriarch sleeping on his bed. According to the text Enoch sees a strange dream in which two huge angelic beings, with faces like the shining sun, approach the patriarch's bed and call him by his name. The text says that after the patriarch was awakened by the angels, he went out from his house closing the door behind him as the angels had ordered. Philip Alexander draws the reader's attention to an important detail in this description; he observes that *2 Enoch* "attests with a boldness and clarity nowhere matched in *1 Enoch* that Enoch ascended bodily to heaven...."[94] He also notes that this emphasis on the bodily ascent in the awakened condition represents a departure from the early Enochic materials attested in *1 (Ethiopic) Enoch*, where the patriarch's ascension to heaven seems to be depicted as in a dream during sleep.[95] Alexander further observes that this unequivocal claim that a human could bodily enter the upper realm was profoundly problematic within the worldview of early Judaism.[96]

---

[94] Alexander, "From Son of Adam," 104.

[95] Ibid., 103.

[96] Ibid., 102. It should be noted that despite the fact that *1 Enoch's* materials do not attest to the bodily ascent of the visionary, the transition to this concept occurred in early Judaism not later than the first century CE. Besides *2 Enoch's* evidence, which can be dated to the first century CE, before the destruction of the Second Temple, the Pauline passage attested in 2 Cor 12 also demonstrates

It is intriguing that the later Merkabah Enochic accounts, as with *2 Enoch*'s account, insist on the bodily ascension of the patriarch. Alexander observes that, *3 Enoch* "clearly envisages bodily ascent and so postulates the physical metamorphosis of Enoch" during which Enoch "becomes, like other angels, physically composed of fire."[97] Alexander also points to another consequence of this metamorphosis, namely, the enlargement of Metatron's body until it equaled the dimensions of the world.[98]

This connection between the bodily ascent of the visionary and the transformation of his body in *2 Enoch* and the *Sefer Hekhalot* is not coincidental, since in the Slavonic apocalypse, for the first time in the Enochic tradition as we saw earlier, the body of the patriarch becomes a locus of intense theological deliberation. As has been already demonstrated in the *Shi'ur Qomah* passage from *2 Enoch* 39, the patriarch's body was explicitly compared with the divine Body and linked with it by identical technical terminology. The insistence on the bodily ascent of the patriarch in *2 Enoch* seems also to constitute an important step in the forming of this new perspective on Enoch's physique, the development that reached its formative stage in the later Merkabah speculations about Metatron's body matching the size of the world.

ADAM AND ENOCH: "TWO POWERS" IN HEAVEN

Previous studies proposed that the traditions about the cosmic body of Metatron in later Jewish mysticism might have originated as a result of the polemics with the traditions about the cosmic body of the protoplast. Thus, Philip Alexander, in his comment on the motif of Enoch-Metatron enlargement in *3 Enoch* 9, refers to certain rabbinic traditions[99] about "the primordial Adam's body, like that of the Gnostic protoanthropos, [which] corresponded to the world in size, but was diminished to the present limited dimensions of the human body as a result of the fall."[100] He further suggests that *3 Enoch's* account about the gigantic body of Enoch-Metatron "maybe expressing in mythological language the idea that Enoch reversed the fall of Adam."[101]

---

familiarity with the concept of the bodily ascent. I am indebted to Alan Segal for this clarification.

[97] Alexander, "From Son of Adam," 106.

[98] Ibid.

[99] In *Gen. R.* 8:1, *b.* Hag. 12a, and possibly, in *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 1:1.

[100] Alexander, "From Son of Adam," 111–2.

[101] Ibid., 112.

Moshe Idel's research also reveals that "Jewish mystical literature indicates ... a certain similarity between the enlarged states of Adam and Enoch."[102] He notes that "the end of the gigantic Adam is well-known: he was severely reduced in his human dimensions. Enoch, on the other hand, merited undergoing the reverse process" described in *3 Enoch* as the patriarch's elevation and elongation as the measure of the length and breadth of the world.[103]

Idel notes that in some rabbinic materials the conception of the elevated Enoch, depicted as the supreme angel Metatron, contains remnants of the Adamic traditions.[104] In these materials Enoch is conceived as the one who regained the cosmic status and the extraordinary qualities that the primordial Adam had lost after his transgression in the Garden of Eden, namely, his luminosity and size.[105]

Moreover, in some rabbinic accounts Metatron is often directly described as a counterpart of Adam predestined to substitute for the fallen patriarch even before his actual transgression.[106] Idel points[107] to the development of this theme in *3 Enoch*. The *Sefer Hekhalot* 48C reads:

---

[102] Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," 225.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid., 220.

[105] Cf. *b.* Sanh. 38b: "Rab Judah said in Rab's name: The first man reached from one end of the world to the other... R. Elezar said: The first man reached from earth to heaven... but when he sinned, the Holy One, blessed be He, laid His hand upon him and diminished him..." *The Babylonian Talmud (Hebrew-English Edition) Sanhedrin*, 38b. Tr. by J. Shachter and H. Freedman. London: Soncino, 1994.

[106] Isaiah Tishby observes that in both the *Raya Mehemna* and the *Tikkunei ha-Zohar*, Metatron is portrayed as the lord of the lower chariot, a human figure seated upon the throne; and in this role he is called "the lesser Adam." Tishby notes that according to the *Tikkunei ha-Zohar* "...Metatron was created first and foremost among all the hosts of heaven below, and he is the lesser Adam, which the Holy One, blessed be He, made in the celestial image." Tishby, I. *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, vol. 2, 628–9. London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1994. 3 vols. In some Zoharic materials Metatron's name(s), similar to Adam's name, are also juxtaposed with the tradition about the four corners of the world: "This is Metatron, which is higher [than the creatures] by a distance of five hundred years. Metatron, Mitatron, Zevul, Eved, Zevoel — here are five [names], and *his names multiply in four directions to the four corners of the world* according to the missions of his Master." Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, vol. 2, 643.

[107] Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," 226.

> The Holy One, blessed be he, said: I made him strong, I took him, I appointed him, namely Metatron my servant, who is unique among all denizens of the heights. "I made him strong" in the generation of the first man...."I took him" — Enoch the son of Jared, from their midst, and brought him up.... "I appointed him" — over all the storehouses and treasures which I have in every heaven....[108]

According to this passage God elected Metatron already in the generation of the first man. Metatron was thus viewed as a preexistent divine being,[109] first incarnated in Adam and then in Enoch, who re-ascended to the protoplast's heavenly home and took his rightful place in the heights of the universe.[110] Our research will later demonstrate that in *2 Enoch* the account of Enoch's elevation, similarly to this Metatron tradition, is juxtaposed with the story of the elevated prelapsarian Adam. Idel also observes that in Jewish mystical literature another significant parallelism in the depictions of the corporalities of Adam and Enoch can be detected. He points out that in both cases "their immense size caused an error of faith, namely other creatures were induced to believe that two powers governed the universe, not God alone."[111]

Several rabbinic and Hekhalot sources, including *b.* Hag. 15a, *Sefer Hekhalot* 16, and *Merkavah Rabbah* (*Synopse* §672) attest to a tradition according to which the terrifying vision of Metatron, seated on a great throne at the door of the seventh palace, caused Aher to believe that Metatron represents the second power in heaven.

In *3 Enoch* 16:1–5 Enoch-Metatron tells to Rabbi Ishmael the following story:

---

[108] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 311.

[109] Scholem argued that in the Metatron lore one can find two possible concepts of this angel. The first one considers him as an angelic counterpart of the seventh antediluvian patriarch translated to heaven before the Flood and transfigured into an immortal angelic being. He argued that there was also another trend in which Metatron was not connected with Enoch or any other human prototype but was understood as a pre-existent angel. See Scholem, G. *Kabbalah*, 378–80. New York: Dorset Press, 1987.

[110] It is noteworthy that the motif of Enoch as the redeemer and the restorer of prelapsarian humanity can be traced to *2 Enoch* 64:4–5 where the patriarch is portrayed as the one who carried away the sin of humankind. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 190.

[111] Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," 225.

> At first I sat upon a great throne at the door of the seventh palace, and I judged all the denizens of the heights on the authority of the Holy One, blessed be he.... I sat in the heavenly court. The princes of kingdoms stood beside me, to my right and to my left, by authority of the Holy One, blessed be he. But when Aher came to behold the vision of the chariot and set eyes upon me, he was afraid and trembled before me. His soul was alarmed to the point of leaving him, because of his fear, dread, and terror of me, when he saw me seated[112] upon a throne like king, with ministering angels standing beside me as servants and all the princes of kingdoms crowned with crowns surrounding me.[113]

Despite the prominent role that Enoch-Metatron plays in the "two powers" controversy, the initial background of this tradition about the erroneous veneration of the exalted humanity appears to originate, not in the Enochic, but in the Adamic tradition.[114]

Jarl Fossum's research demonstrates that the motif of the misplaced adoration of Adam by the angels appears in several forms in the rabbinic literature.[115] Thus, from *Gen. R.* 8:10 one can learn that when God created

---

[112] The rabbinic tradition states that there is no sitting in heaven, where according to *b.* Hag. 15a, the privilege of "seating" beside God was accorded solely to Metatron by virtue of his character as a "scribe"; for he was granted permission as a scribe to sit and write down the merits of Israel. It is important that the motif of the "seating" of Enoch-Metatron in heaven is first documented in *2 Enoch* 23:4 where the archangel Vereveil allows the patriarch to sit down and "write everything."

[113] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 268.

[114] For Adam's connection with the two powers' traditions, see Segal's pioneering research: Segal, A. *Two Powers in Heaven. Early Rabbinic Reports About Christianity and Gnosticism*, 108–115. SJLA, 25. Leiden: Brill, 1977.

[115] Jarl Fossum differentiates three major forms of this tradition: "(1) The angels mistake Adam for God and want to exclaim 'Holy' before him, whereupon God lets sleep fall upon Adam so it becomes clear that the latter is human; (2) all creatures mistake Adam for their creator and wish to bow before him, but Adam teaches them to render all honor to God as their true creator; (3) the angels mistake Adam for God and wish to exclaim 'Holy' before him, whereupon God reduces Adam's size." Fossum, "The Adorable Adam," 529–30. An important similarity can be detected between these Adamic traditions and the Metatron accounts. In *b.* Hag. 15a God punished Metatron with sixty fiery lashes. Alan Segal observes that "just as Metatron needed correction for the false impression he gave Aher, so Adam needs correction for the false impression given the angels." Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, 112. Indeed, in the Adamic accounts of two powers the protoplast is disciplined in various ways, including the reduction of his stature.

man in his own image "the ministering angels mistook him [for a divine being] and wished to exclaim 'Holy' before Him... What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He caused sleep to fall upon him, and so all knew that he was [only a mortal] man."[116] In the *Alphabet of R. Akiba* the angels' erroneous behavior is explained through the reference to Adam's gigantic body:[117]

> This teaches that initially Adam was created from the earth to the firmament. When the ministering angels saw him, they were shocked and excited by him. At that time they all stood before the Holy One, blessed be He, and said to Him; "Master of the Universe! There are two powers in the world, one in heaven and one on earth." What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do then? He placed His hand on him, and decreased him,[118] setting him at one thousand cubits.[119]

It is clear that these Adamic accounts do not originate in the rabbinic literature under the influence of Metatron's story but in early pseudepigraphical writings. Scholars observe[120] that these accounts have their roots in the prominent story already found in the primary Adam books[121] and

---

[116] *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 1, 61.

[117] It should be noted that the traditions about the gigantic body of Adam were widespread in the rabbinic literature. See: Altmann, A. "The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends." *JQR* 35 (1945): 371–391; Barc, B. "La taille cosmique d'Adam dans la littérature juive rabbinique des trois premiers siècles apres J.-C." *RSR* 49 (1975): 173–85; Fossum, "The Adorable Adam," 529–39; Niditch, S. "The Cosmic Adam: Man as Mediator in Rabbinic Literature." *JJS* 34 (1983): 137–46; Schäfer, P. *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen: Untersuchungen zur rabbinischen Engelvorstellung*. SJ, 8. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975; Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, 108–115.

[118] *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 1:1 reflects the same tradition: "Said R. Aibu, 'At that moment the first man's stature was cut down and diminished to one hundred cubits.'" *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana*, vol. 1, 1. Tr. by J. Neusner. BJS, 122–3. Atlanta:Scholars, 1987. 2 vols.

[119] Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," 226.

[120] Altmann, "The Gnostic Background," 382; Fossum, "The Adorable Adam," 530–1.

[121] The account of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels is also found in Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve* 13–15. These versions depict God's creation of Adam in his image. The first man was then brought before God's face by the archangel Michael to bow down to God. God commanded all the angels to bow down to Adam. All the angels agreed to

other early materials,[122] according to which God himself ordered the angels to venerate Adam, and all the angels except Satan bowed before the first human.

The prototype of the story of the misplaced veneration of Enoch-Metatron also can be traced to this early Adamic lore. It is possible that the transition from the Adamic two powers template to the Enoch-Metatron two powers template occurred not in the rabbinic period but much earlier, that is, already inside the Second Temple Judaism. Michael Stone has demonstrated that in *2 Enoch* 22 the Adamic tradition of the protoplast's veneration by the angels was skillfully transferred to the seventh antediluvian patriarch.[123] It is not coincidental that the transference of the "two powers" tradition from Adam to Enoch was made for the first time in the Slavonic Apocalypse where the protoplast and the seventh antediluvian patriarch were interconnected via the conception of the cosmic body.

Two Bodies Created According to the Likeness of the Third One

Our previous analysis has shown that in the various Jewish texts the traditions about Adam's and Enoch's corporalities often appear to be linked and share similar imagery. Our investigation has also demonstrated that this connection can be detected already in *2 Enoch*. A critical question, however,

---

venerate the protoplast, except Satan (and his angels) who refused to bow down before Adam, because the first human was "younger" than ("posterior" to) Satan.

[122] The Slavonic version of *3 Baruch* 4; *Gospel of Bartholomew* 4, Coptic *Enthronement of Michael*, *Cave of Treasures* 2:10–24, and *Qur'an* 2:31–39; 7:11–18; 15:31–48; 17:61–65; 18:50; 20:116–123; 38:71–85.

[123] M. Stone's article investigates an important motif preserved in chapters 21–22 of the Slavonic apocalypse. He observes that the story found in *2 Enoch* 21–22 recalls the account of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels found in Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*. Stones notes that, besides the motifs of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels, the author of *2 Enoch* appears to be also aware of the motif of angelic disobedience and refusal to venerate the first human. M. Stone draws the reader's attention to the phrase "sounding them out," found in *2 Enoch* 22:6, which another translator of the Slavonic text rendered as "making a trial of them." Stone notes that the expressions "sounding them out" or "making a trial of them" imply here that it is the angels' obedience that is being tested. Cf. Stone, M. E. "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve*." *JTS* 44 (1993): 143–56.

still remains: how can these traditions about the corporealities of the two patriarchs be related to the *Shi'ur Qomah* account of the divine Face found in chapter 39.

It appears that the depiction of the divine anthropomorphic extent, labeled in *2 Enoch* as the Lord's Face, serves as an important locus that unifies the Adamic tradition of the cosmic body of the protoplast and the Enochic tradition about the glorious angelic body of the translated patriarch. Our research must now turn to the analysis of the accounts of the divine Face which unifies both traditions.

It should be noted that *2 Enoch* contains two descriptions involving the motif of the divine Face. The first one occurs in *2 Enoch* 22, a chapter which depicts Enoch's encounter with the Lord in the celestial realm. The second account appears in chapter 39 where the patriarch reports his initial theophanic experience to his sons during his short visit to earth, adding some new details. Although both descriptions demonstrate a number of terminological affinities, the second account explicitly connects the divine Face with the Lord's anthropomorphic "extent." It is also significant that in both theophanic descriptions the stature of the Lord, His "Face," is associated with light and fire. In biblical theophanies smoke and fire often serve as a divine envelope that protects mortals from the sight of the divine Form. Radiant luminosity emitted by the Deity fulfills the same function, indicating the danger of the direct vision of the divine Form. Luminosity also represents the screen which protects the Deity from the necessity of revealing its true form. Scholars note that in some theophanic traditions God's form remains hidden behind His light.[124] The hidden *Kavod* is revealed through this light, which serves as a luminous screen, "the face" of this anthropomorphic extent. *2 Enoch's* theophanies, which use the metaphors of light and fire, may well be connected with such traditions where the divine "Form" is hidden behind the incandescent "face," which covers and protects the sovereignty of the Lord.[125]

---

[124] April De Conick's pioneering research shows that in Enochic traditions God's form remains hidden behind his light. Cf. De Conick, A. D. *Seek to See Him: Ascent and Vision Mysticism in the Gospel of Thomas*, 104–5. SVC, 33. Leiden, 1996.

[125] The imagery of the divine Face plays an important role in Merkabah mysticism. In the *Hekhalot Rabbati* the following descriptions can be found: "... the holy living creatures ... put on garments of fire and wrap themselves in a covering of flame, and cover their faces with a lighting bolt, and the Holy One, blessed be He, unveils His face." *Synopse*, § 184. "The honored King is enthroned and He rises up the living creatures... They embrace Him and they kiss Him and they unveil their

In *2 Enoch* 39:3–6 the "face" is closely associated with the divine "extent" and seems to be understood, not simply as a part of the Lord's body, but as a radiant *façade* of His whole anthropomorphic "stature." This identification between the Lord's face and the Lord's form is reinforced by an additional parallel in which Enoch's face is identified with Enoch's form. The association between the divine Face and the divine Form in *2 Enoch* 39:3–6 closely resembles the biblical tradition from Ex 33:18–23, where the divine *panim* is mentioned in connection with the glorious divine form, God's *Kavod.*

The motif of the divine Face has paramount significance for our investigation since it serves as a symbol decisively linking Enoch's newly acquired luminous angelic body with the glorious body of the protoplast. Enoch's luminous metamorphosis takes place in the front of the Lord's glorious "extent," labeled in *2 Enoch* as the Lord's "Face." From *2 Enoch* 22 one can learn that the vision of the divine "Face" had drastic consequences for Enoch's appearance. His body endures radical changes as it becomes covered with the divine light. This encounter transforms Enoch into a glorious angelic being. The text says that after this procedure Enoch had become like one of the glorious ones, and there was no observable difference.[126] This phrase describes Enoch's transition to his new celestial identity as "one of the glorious ones." During this transition in the front of the Lord's face Enoch's own "face" has been radically altered and the patriarch has now acquired a new glorious "visage" which reflects the luminosity[127] of the

---

faces. They unveil themselves and the King of Glory covers His face, and the Arabot firmament used to burst like a sieve before the face of the King." *Synopse*, § 189.

[126] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 139.

[127] *2 Enoch's* narrative gives evidence that Enoch's face acquired the same qualities of luminosity as the Face of the Lord. In *2 Enoch* 37, the Lord calls one of his angels to chill the face of Enoch before his return to earth. The angel, who "appeared frozen," then chilled Enoch's face with his icy hands. Immediately after this procedure, the Lord tells Enoch that if his face had not been chilled in such a way, no human being would be able to look at his face. This chilling procedure indicates that Enoch's metamorphosis near the Face involves the transformation of the visionary's face into the fiery, perilous entity which now resembles the Lord's Face. We can find a detailed description of this process in another "Enochic" text, the *Sefer Hekhalot*, which describes the transformation of Enoch-Metatron, the Prince of the Divine Presence, into a fiery creature. Cf. *3 Enoch* 15:1 "R. Ishmael said: The angel Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence, the glory of highest heaven, said to me: When the Holy One, blessed be he, took me to serve the throne of glory,

Lord's *Panim*.[128] The account of the Lord's Face in *2 Enoch* 39 also stresses the proximity between the Face and the patriarch's body. It is expressed through a series of analogical comparisons that demonstrates that Enoch's new transformed stature is fashioned in the *likeness* of the Lord's "Face."

This creation in the likeness of the Lord's Face represents an important link that connects this new angelic body of Enoch with the body of the glorious Adam. It has been demonstrated that the Face in *2 Enoch* 22 represented the cause and the prototype after which the new celestial identity of Enoch was "created." The new creation fashioned after the Face signifies here the return to the prelapsarian condition of Adam, who according to the Slavonic apocalypse was also "modeled" during his creation after the Face of God. In *2 Enoch* 44:1 one can learn that the protoplast was created in the likeness of God's Face. The text says that "the Lord with his own two hands created mankind; in a facsimile of *his own face*, both small and great, the Lord created [them]."[129] It is intriguing that *2 Enoch* departs here from the canonical reading attested in Gen 1:26–27, where Adam was created, not after the face of God, but after His image (*tselem*). In view of this departure, the author of the recent English translation of the Slavonic apocalypse, Francis Andersen, observes that *2 Enoch*'s "idea is remarkable from any point of view.... This is not the original meaning of *tselem*.... The text uses *podobie lica* [in the likeness of the face], not *obrazu* or *videnije*, the usual terms for 'image.'"[130]

The previous analysis, however, demonstrates that this reading does not arise in the Slavonic environment but belongs to the original argument of *2 Enoch*, where the creation of the luminous protoplast after the Face of the Lord corresponds to a similar angelic "creation" of the seventh antedi-

---

the wheels of the chariot and all needs of the Shekinah, at once my flesh turned to flame, my sinews to blazing fire, my bones to juniper coals, my eyelashes to lightning flashes, my eyeballs to fiery torches, the hairs of my head to hot flames, all my limbs to wings of burning fire, and the substance of my body to blazing fire." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 267.

[128] It is noteworthy that after this procedure Enoch's "face" itself, similar to the Lord's face, acquired the ability to glorify other subjects. Thus in *2 Enoch* 64:3–5 the following tradition can be found: "...and the elders of the people and all the community came and prostrated themselves and kissed Enoch... O our father Enoch, bless your sons and all the people, so that we may be glorified in front of your face today." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 190.

[129] Ibid., 170.

[130] Ibid., 171, note b.

luvian patriarch. There is almost no doubt that, in view of the information about Adam's glorious angelic nature attested in *2 Enoch* 30:11, the author of the Slavonic apocalypse tries to connect the theme of Adam's creation with the motif of the glorious Face of the Lord.

This connection also reveals that the bodies of the two characters of the Slavonic apocalypse, the prelapsarian corporeality of the protoplast and the body of his luminous counterpart, the patriarch Enoch, are both fashioned in the likeness of the third body, namely, the extent of the Lord, also known as the luminous "Face." It is not coincidental that in *2 Enoch* the interconnection of all three corporealities, the glorious body of the protoplast, the glorious body of the elevated Enoch, and the luminous divine Body, is made via the account of the divine Face where, according to Gershom Scholem, the precise *Shi'ur Qomah* terminology might have already been made evident.

The Pillar of the World: The Eschatological Role of the Seventh Antediluvian Hero in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*

Introduction

In chapter 25 of the *2 (Slavonic) Enoch* the Lord reveals to the translated antediluvian hero some unique details of the mysteries of creation found neither in earlier Enochic booklets nor in any other Second Temple Jewish materials. One of the important parts of this revelation deals with the order of events that preceded the visible creation. The Deity unveils to the seer that prior to visible creation he called out from nothing the luminous aeon Adoil, ordering him to become the foundation of the upper things. The account describes the process of Adoil's transmutation into the cornerstone of creation on which the Deity establishes his Throne.

Several distinguished students of Jewish mystical traditions, including Gershom Scholem and Moshe Idel, noticed that this protological account in chapter 25 dealing with the establishment of the created order appears to parallel the order of eschatological events narrated in chapter 65 where, during his short visit to earth, Enoch conveys to his children the mystery of the last times.[131] According to Enoch's instruction, after the final judgment time will collapse, and all the righteous of the world will be incorporated into a single luminous aeon. The description of this final aeon appears to bear striking similarities with the primordial aeon Adoil portrayed in chapter 25 as the foundation of the created order. The text also seems to hint that the righteous Enoch, translated to heaven and transformed into a

[131] Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape*, 98–101; Idel, M. *Ascensions on High in Jewish Mysticism: Pillars, Lines, Ladders*, 75ff. Past Incorporated. CEU Studies in Humanities, 2. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2005.

luminous celestial creature, is the first fruit of this eschatological aeon that will eventually gather all the righteous into a single entity.

Moshe Idel observes that the motif of incorporation of the righteous into a single aeon recalls the idea of the righteous as the cosmological foundation or pillar of the world reflected in some Jewish mystical writings. The idea of the righteous as the foundation of the world seems also present in *2 Enoch* 66 where the final aeon is set in parallel with the protological foundation of the created order — the aeon Adoil.

In light of these correspondences it is intriguing that later Jewish mystical lore often portrays Enoch-Metatron as the cosmic foundation sustaining the world or even as the pillar linking the lower and upper worlds. It is possible that the roots of this tradition about the righteous antediluvian hero as the cosmic foundation of the world can be detected already in the Slavonic apocalypse where Enoch is portrayed as the first fruit of the future eschatological aeon of the righteous and the link between the upper and the lower worlds.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the tradition of Enoch-Metatron as the foundation of the world and the possible roots of this motif in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch.*

I. THE PROTOLOGICAL DISINTEGRATION: AEON ADOIL AS THE FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD

The theme of the secrets of creation occupies an important place in the Slavonic apocalypse. The significance of this esoteric subject among other mysteries which the translated patriarch received during his celestial trip is underlined by the fact that the secrets of creation were conveyed to Enoch personally by the Deity and that this knowledge was never revealed to any other creatures, including the angels. This supra-angelic disclosure given to the visionary after his celestial metamorphosis can be seen as the pinnacle of the esoteric knowledge obtained by the seventh antediluvian hero in the upper realm. Both shorter and longer recensions of *2 Enoch* provide an extensive description of this revelation. The initial part of this mysterious disclosure deals with the order of events that had taken place immediately before the visible creation was established. In the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 25 the account has the following form:

> And I commanded the lowest things: "Let one of the invisible things come out visibly!" And Adail descended, extremely large. And I looked at him, and, behold, in his belly he had a great age. And I said to him, "Disintegrate yourself, Adail, and let what is disintegrated from you be-

> come visible." And he disintegrated himself, and there came out from him the great age. And thus it carried all the creation which I had wished to create. And I saw how good it was. And I placed for myself a throne, and I sat down on it. To the light I spoke: "You go up higher and be solidified and become the foundation for the highest things." And there is nothing higher than the light, except nothing itself. And I spoke, I straightened myself upward from my throne.[132]

The longer recension preserves the general narrative structure of the shorter one while slightly changing some terminology and supplying some small additional details:

> And I commanded the lowest things: "Let one of the invisible things descend visibly!" And Adoil descended, extremely large. And I looked at him, and, behold, in his belly he had a great light. And I said to him, "Disintegrate yourself, Adoil, and let what is born from you become visible." And he disintegrated himself, and there came out a very great light. And I was in the midst of the [great] light. And light out of light is carried thus. And the great age came out, and it revealed all the creation which I had thought up to create. And I saw how good it was. And I placed for myself a throne, and I sat down on it. And then to the light I spoke: "You go up higher (than the throne), and be solidified [much higher than the throne], and become the foundation of the higher things." And there is nothing higher than the light, except nothing itself. And again I bowed (?) myself and looked upward from my throne.[133]

The important character of the story is the aeon Adoil envisioned in the text as the starting point of creation.[134] This enigmatic entity can be seen as the midwife of creation that comes to birth together with it through its creative act. The text emphasizes the enormous size of Adoil, defining him as "extremely large." He is portrayed to be "pregnant" with creation by containing a great aeon in the belly. It is not entirely clear if this is a description of the aeons emanating from one another, the process conveyed in the text through the enigmatic formulae "light out of light." It might also be plausible that Adoil's imagery is somehow connected with the Anthropos myth, especially its version in the *Corpus Hermeticum* where Anthropos becomes the blueprint for the created order by disintegrating

---

[132] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 145.

[133] Ibid., 144.

[134] On the etymology of the name Adoil, see Orlov, A. "Secrets of Creation in 2 (Slavonic) Enoch." In idem, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 191–4. SJSJ, 114; Leiden: Brill, 2007.

into the physical realm, a motif conveyed in the *Poimandres* through the erotic metaphor of Anthropos falling in love with Nature. In *2 Enoch*, too, Adoil's disintegration provides the beginning for the visible reality and serves as the foundation on which God is able to establish the first visible manifestation of the created order — his Throne. It is significant that in both recensions the Deity also commands Adoil to become the foundation (Slav. *основание*) of the highest things.[135] Adoil is thus clearly envisioned as the foundation or sustainer of creation. This terminological identification of Adoil with the concept of the foundation is important for our study.

Both recensions stress that Adoil's disintegration provides an important foundation on which the divine throne is established. The seat of the Deity thus serves here as the locale from which God supervises the unfolding creation. The Throne plays a portentous role in the process of creation, being envisioned as the center of the created world.

Another significant feature relevant to our future discussion is the portrayal of Adoil in the longer recension as the "revealer." His revelations, however, encompass not verbal but rather "ontological" disclosure conveyed through the act of changing his nature. This mode of revelation is very important for our future analysis of Enoch's role as the revealer and his "ontological" participation in the disclosure of the eschatological aeon. Adoil's disintegration is identified in the text as the revelation of the created order: "And the great age came out, and it revealed all the creation which I had thought up to create."

Finally, another significant detail in the depiction of Adoil is the repeated references to his luminous nature. The emphasis on the luminosity of the primordial aeon is even more apparent in the longer recension which emphasizes not only the outer shining nature of the protological entity but also his internal luminous state depicted there as the pregnancy with great light: "And Adoil descended, extremely large. And I looked at him, and, behold, in his belly he had a great light ... there came out a very great light. And I was in the midst of the [great] light. And light out of light is carried thus."[136]

---

[135] Соколов, "Материалы," 25.

[136] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 144.

II. THE ESCHATOLOGICAL REINTEGRATION: THE AEON OF THE RIGHTEOUS

The aforementioned primeval account of creation narrated by God in chapters 25 and 26 of the Slavonic pseudepigraphon is later invoked in a very abbreviated form in chapter 65 where Enoch seeks to transmit to his sons and people of the earth the knowledge he received during his celestial trip. In this rather terse account the reader also encounters some additional cosmological details pertaining not only to the beginning of creation but also to its final destiny.

Chapter 65 of *2 Enoch* deals with the final instructions which the translated hero of the faith hastens to unveil to humanity immediately before his second and final departure to heaven. The final place of this revelation among other mysteries conveyed by Enoch to humankind during his short visit underlines the significance of this disclosure. In many ways it appears to be set in parallel with the account of the Lord's own instructions about the secrets of creation which Enoch received also at the end of his heavenly trip from the Deity after the preliminary revelations conveyed to him by his psychopomps and angel Vereveil.

One of the intriguing features of this enigmatic revelation is that not only the format of the delivery of this final mystery transmitted by the seer to human recipients is set in parallel to the secrets of creation revealed by the Lord previously in chapters 25 and 26, but also that the peculiar content in many ways mirrors in rather abbreviated form the familiar conceptual framework of the protological revelation. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 65:1–11 reads:

> "Listen, my children! Before all things existed, (and) before all creation came about, the Lord established the age of creation, and after that he created all his creation, visible and invisible … When the whole creation which the Lord has created, shall come to an end, and when each person will go to the Lord's great judgment, then the time periods will perish, and there will be neither years nor months nor days, and hours will no longer be counted; But they will constitute a single age. And all the righteous, who escape from the Lord's great judgment, will be collected together with the great age. And <the age> at the same time will unite with the righteous, and they will be eternal. And there will be among them neither weariness nor suffering nor affliction nor expectation of violence nor the pain of the night nor darkness. But they will have a great light for eternity, <and> an indestructible wall, and they will have a great paradise, the shelter of an eternal residence. How happy are the

> righteous who will escape the Lord's great judgment, for their faces will shine forth like the sun."[137]

The longer recension provides the following description that differs in several details from the account found in the shorter recension:

> "Listen my children! Before ever anything existed, and before ever any created thing was created, the Lord created the whole of his creation, visible and invisible.... And when the whole creation, visible and invisible, which the Lord has created, shall come to an end, then each person will go to the Lord's great judgment. And then all time will perish, and afterwards there will be neither years nor months nor days nor hours. They will be dissipated, and after that they will not be reckoned. But they will constitute a single age. And all the righteous, who escape from the Lord's great judgment, will be collected together into the great age. And the great age will come about for the righteous, and it will be eternal. And after that there will be among them neither weariness <nor sickness> nor affliction nor worry nor want nor debilitation nor night nor darkness. But they will have a great light, a great indestructible light, and paradise, great and incorruptible. For everything corruptible will pass away, and the incorruptible will come into being, and will be the shelter of the eternal residences."[138]

The patriarch begins his narration with references to the familiar theme of the primeval aeon already familiar to the reader from the story found in chapter 25. These protological events responsible for the unfolding of creation are then set in parallel with the chain of eschatological actions that, according to the authors of the apocalypse, will reintegrate the whole creation into a single aeon which will collect all the righteous of the world. According to the text, "all the righteous, who escape from the Lord's great judgment, will be collected together with the great age." The final consummation of all creation into a single aeon recalls the initial protological disintegration of Adoil who once gave birth to the multiplicity of the created forms. The account describes the cataclysmic collapse of the spatial and the temporal order that according to the text will lead to a situation when "all time will perish, and afterwards there will be neither years nor months nor days nor hours. They will be dissipated, and after that they will not be reckoned...."

---

[137] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 191–3.

[138] Ibid., 190–2.

It appears that the final consummation of the created order in many ways "reverses" its protological unfolding in such a way that reintegration into the final aeon invokes memory of the disintegration of the primeval aeon Adoil. There are several distinctive features that in many ways unify both aeonic subjects.

The motif of luminosity

One of these features includes the luminosity of both entities. As may be recalled, the symbolism of light permeates the depiction of Adoil who according to *2 Enoch*'s story not only has a luminous nature, but also is pregnant with the great light. This imagery of the external and internal luminous nature of the primeval aeon is conveyed in the Slavonic apocalypse through the expression "light out of light." Similar to the protological "age," the eschatological aeon is also resplendent with luminosity. Thus according to the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 65:10, the righteous constituting the final aeon will "have a great light, a great indestructible light." The shorter recension provides some additional details about the luminosity of the final aeon by telling that the faces of the righteous gathered there "will shine forth like the sun."

The Righteous as the Foundation

As mentioned earlier, in the protological account dealing with the creation of the world Adoil is depicted as the foundation (Slav. *основание*) of the visible things, both earthly as well as heavenly, including the very seat of the Deity, His Throne. In view of the aforementioned parallelism between the descriptions of the first and the last aeons, it appears that the "eschatological age" is also connected with the idea of the foundation. Although the description of the eschatological aeon does not directly refer to this entity as the foundation, this idea is present in the text through several implicit details.

In commenting on the identification of the final aeon with the righteous, Moshe Idel notes that in Jewish mysticism the righteous are often portrayed as the cosmological foundation of the world. In light of this identification Idel proposes that in *2 Enoch* the implicit connection might exist between the protological and eschatological foundations, the first represented by the primeval aeon Adoil and the second by the eschatological aeon of the righteous.

In his book about the symbolism of pillars in Jewish mysticism, Idel refers to a passage from the *Book of Bahir* that depicts the righteous person as the pillar reaching the heaven:

> There is a pillar from earth to heaven, and its name is *Tzaddiq*, according to the name of righteous men. And when there are righteous men in the world, then the pillar is strengthened, but if not — it becomes weak. And it supports the entire world, as it is written: "the righteous are the foundation of the world." But if it is weakened, it cannot support the world. This is the reason why even if there is only one righteous [in the world], he maintains the world.[139]

Idel points to the assumption about the dual status of the righteous discernable in the *Book of Bahir*'s passage: there are righteous men in the world, but there is also a cosmic righteous and the former depend on the latter.[140] Idel traces the origins of this concept of the cosmic righteous to the conceptual developments found in the Slavonic Enoch where "the Great Aeon, which is identical to the foundation, passes for the righteous."[141]

Idel also discusses the tradition found in *b.* Hag. 12b where the righteous are depicted not only as the ethical but also as the cosmological foundation of the world:

> It is taught: R. Jose says: Alas for people that they see but know not what they see, they stand but know not on what they stand. What does the earth rest on? On the pillars, for it is said: Who shaketh the earth out of her place, and the pillars thereof tremble....But the Sages say: [The world] rests on twelve pillars, for it is said: He set the borders to the peoples according to the number [of the tribes] of the children of Israel. And some say seven pillars, for it is said; she hath hewn out her seven pillars. R. Eleazar b. Shammua says: [It rests] on one pillar, and its name is "Righteous," for it is said: But "Righteous" is the foundation of the world.[142]

It may be tempting to construe these rabbinic passages as mere references to the moral behavior that "sustains" the ethical order of the world. Idel, however, observes that the passage from the *Hagigah* has not just a moral but also a cosmological significance. He remarks that "...the *Hagigah*, a short but highly influential passage, is a part of mythical cosmology rather than a mode of making sense of religious behavior. To be clear, the basic context of the discussion is cosmology, and its influence on the way in which the righteous should be understood is only an aside."[143]

---

[139] Abrams, D., ed. *The Book of Bahir*, 160–1. Los Angeles: Cherub, 1994.
[140] Idel, *Ascensions*, 80.
[141] Ibid., 81.
[142] *b.* Hag. 12b.
[143] Idel, *Ascensions*, 75.

One of the features found in the *Hagigah*'s account is the reference to the sevenfold nature of the world's foundation.[144] In this respect it is intriguing that the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 66:8 insists on the sevenfold nature of the final aeon. According to the text: "...for in that age everything is estimated sevenfold — light and darkness and food and enjoyment and misery and paradise and tortures....."[145] The emphasis on the sevenfold nature of the final aeon in *2 Enoch* might point to parallels to the later rabbinic tradition about the seven pillars or foundations on which the earth stands.[146]

III. ENOCH-METATRON AS THE FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD

Enoch's Righteousness

It does not seem coincidental that the portentous revelation about the final aeon of the righteous comes from the mouth of the seventh antediluvian patriarch, the hero known in Jewish lore for his exemplary righteousness. In light of this connection the motif of Enoch's righteousness should be explored more closely.

The epithet "righteous man" becomes an important designation of the seventh antediluvian hero already in the beginning of his story where his righteousness is juxtaposed to the wickedness of the antediluvian generation and the transgressions of the Watchers. Thus already in the very first verses of one of the earliest Enochic booklets, the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 1:2), the patriarch is defined as a righteous man. In *1 Enoch* 15:11 we hear again the same designation that now comes from the mouth of the Deity himself: "And he answered me and said to me with his voice: Hear!

---

[144] The passage found in the *Book of Zohar* also speaks about the seven pillars that sustain the creation. *Zohar* I.231a reads: "Rabbi Jose began by quoting 'Upon that were its foundations fastened?' (Job 38:6). This verse was spoken by the Holy One, blessed be He, because when he created the world He created it upon pillars, the seven pillars of the world, as it is said 'She has hewn out her seven pillars' (Proverbs 9:1), but it is not known what these seven pillars stand upon, for it is a profound mystery, the most recondite of all." Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, vol. 2, 571. Further in the *Zohar* the foundation stone of creation which stands in the center of the world representing the foundation of everything defined in the text as "the basis and sustenance of the world" — is described as an entity with "seven eyes": "Come and see. There are seven eyes on this stone, as it is said 'Upon one stone are seven eyes' (Zech 3:9)." Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, vol. 2, 572.

[145] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 194.

[146] Idel, *Ascensions*, 75.

Do not be afraid, Enoch, (you) righteous man and scribe of righteousness...."[147] Besides the patriarch's exemplary behavior that allowed him to become the sign of righteousness for future generations, this passage also points to another important office of the seventh antediluvian hero as the teacher of righteousness — an office in which he was desperately attempting to rescue and sustain the moral and cosmological order of the antediluvian world by delivering calls to repentance and oracles of doom which he received from God and angels. Early Enochic materials (*1 Enoch* 12:4 and *1 Enoch* 15:11) therefore repeatedly define him as the scribe of righteousness.[148]

Enoch's connection with the eschatological destiny of the righteous may be already ascertained in the early Enochic writings. Thus according to *1 Enoch,* the patriarch travels to the enigmatic location "the paradise of righteousness," which might represent here another designation for the eschatological gathering of the righteous.

As has already been noted, early Enoch booklets seek to highlight the contrast between the righteousness of Enoch and the unrighteousness of the antediluvian generation where interference of the Watchers causes moral and cosmological collapse leading the environment and the human race toward an imminent catastrophe. In this catastrophic chain of events affecting the whole fabric of creation, Enoch can be seen as the righteous one who attempts to sustain the created order, in many ways serving as the pillar of the antediluvian world. This important role of the seventh antediluvian hero as the sustainer and protector of creation is reaffirmed in the *Book of Jubilees* that depicts the patriarch as the cosmic dam against the waters of the Flood. Thus according to *Jub.* 4:23, thanks to Enoch "the flood water did not come on any of the land of Eden because he was placed there as a sign and to testify against all people in order to tell all the deeds of history until the day of judgment."[149]

---

[147] Knibb, M. A. *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, vol. 2, 100. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978. 2 vols.

[148] Josef Milik suggests that the honorific "scribe of righteousness" can be related to the Aramaic term ספר קושטא. Cf. Milik, J. *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4*, 191. Oxford: Clarendon, 1976. George Nickelsburg proposes that the title can be related to the Aramaic ספר די קושטא. Nickelsburg, G. W. E. *1 Enoch I: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, 65. Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001.

[149] VanderKam, J. *The Book of Jubilees*, vol. 2, 28. CSCO, 510–11; Scriptores Aethiopici, 87–88. Leuven: Peeters, 1989. 2 vols.

Enoch's role as the pillar sustaining the world was not forgotten in later Jewish materials. Idel's research identifies an important tradition preserved in later Jewish mysticism that portrays the seventh antediluvian hero as the foundation which sustains the world: "...the righteous is the foundation of the world. For [the sake of] one [single] righteous the world is maintained and it is Enoch the son of Yared."[150] It is apparent that the author(s) of this tradition, which might stem from the early Enochic literature, were informed by the extra-biblical roles and actions of the seventh patriarch who served there as the pillar of the world attempting to sustain the moral and cosmological order of creation in the turmoil of the antediluvian generation.

It should be noted that this understanding of Enoch as the pillar or the foundation of the world is not atypical in Jewish mystical lore where the patriarch's heavenly counterpart, the supreme angel Metatron, was traditionally understood as the force sustaining the world. These cosmological functions were exhibited first in Metatron's role as the governor or the prince of the world[151] (שר העולם) — an office already discernable in *2 Enoch*[152] — and further developed in Hekhalot mysticism, including the *Sefer Hekhalot*.[153] It is intriguing that Enoch-Metatron's governance of the world includes not only administrative functions but also the duty of the physical sustenance of the world. Moshe Idel refers to the treatise *The Seventy Names of Metatron* where the angel and God seize the world in their hands.[154] This motif of the Deity and his vice-regent grasping the universe in their cosmic hands invokes the conceptual developments found in the *Shi'ur Qomah* and Hekhalot materials where Enoch-Metatron possesses a

---

[150] Idel, *Ascensions*, 85.

[151] The term "world" (עולם) in the angelic title appears to signify the entire creation. Peter Schäfer observes that in rabbinic literature the Prince of the World is understood as an angel set over the whole creation. His duties include praying together with the earth for the coming of the Messiah and praising God's creative work. Schäfer, *Rivalität*, 55.

[152] On the role of Enoch as the Governor of the World in *2 Enoch*, see Orlov, A. *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 159–61. TSAJ, 107. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2006.

[153] Igor Tantlevskij observes that in *3 Enoch* 8, Enoch-Metatron has qualities by which, according to *b.* Hag. 12a and *Avot de Rabbi Nathan* A 27:43, the world was created and is sustained. Тантлевский, И. Р. *Книги Еноха* [Tantlevskij, I. R. *Knigi Enoha*], 185. Moscow/Jerusalem: Gesharim, 2000.

[154] Idel, *Ascensions*, 88.

cosmic corporeality comparable to the physique of the Deity and is depicted as the measurement of the divine Body.[155]

The question, however, remains about how all these later Jewish testimonies portraying Enoch-Metatron as the foundation or the pillar of the world are related to the developments found in *2 Enoch*. Is it possible that the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse try to depict Enoch as the eschatological pillar of the world who already participates in the final aeon of the righteous and can thus be seen as the first fruit of this eschatological gathering? In this respect, like Adoil who anticipates the protological aeon that gives the beginning to all creation, Enoch too anticipates the future eschatological aeon when the creation will collapse and all the righteous will be united together. Both Adoil and Enoch can therefore be seen as outstanding exemplars preordained to manifest the protological and eschatological states through their ontological conditions, thus serving as "personifications" of these aeons. Both heroes are united by the quality of their luminosity that serves as an important sign of the beginning and the end of time.

Enoch's luminosity

2 Enoch 66:11 elaborates the condition of the righteous in the final aeon depicting them as luminous beings: "How happy are the righteous who will escape the Lord's great judgment, for their faces will shine forth like the sun."[156] This tradition of the righteous humans emitting light seems to be implicitly tied in the text to the story of its revealer, the seventh antediluvian patriarch, who himself several chapters earlier underwent a dramatic luminous transformation.

The passage may thus suggest that Enoch, who is depicted in chapter 22 as undergoing luminous metamorphoses before the Face of God that turns him into a shining celestial creature, becomes the very first fruit of this future aeon where all righteous persons would eventually regain the

---

[155] One such description can be found in *Synopse*, § 12 (*3 Enoch* 9) which portrays the metamorphosis of Enoch's body into a gigantic extent matching the world in length and breath: "I was enlarged and increased in size till I matched the world in length and breath. He made to grow on me 72 wings, 36 on one side and 36 on the other, and each single wing covered the entire world ...." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.263.

[156] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 193. See also *2 Enoch* 66:7 (the longer recension): "How happy are the righteous who shall escape the Lord's great judgment; for they will be made to shine seven times brighter than the sun." Ibid., 194.

condition of luminosity. The eschatological luminosity here points to the protological condition of Adoil and, more importantly, to the incorruptible luminous state of the Protoplast, a condition that humanity lost after Adam's fall.

Incorruptibility of Enoch

Enoch's metamorphosis into a luminous celestial creature presupposes another eschatological trait mentioned in his descriptions of the final aeon of the righteous, namely the state of incorruptibility. In *2 Enoch* 65:8–10 Enoch says that at the end of times all the righteous who will escape the Lord's great judgment will eventually attain the condition of incorruptibility since they "will be collected together into the great age .... And they will have a great light, a great indestructible light, and paradise, great and incorruptible. For everything corruptible will pass away, and the incorruptible will come into being, and will be the shelter of the eternal residences."[157]

The longer recension's emphasis on the incorruptibility of the future condition of the righteous gathered in the final aeon seems again to recall the patriarch's newly acquired celestial state. One of the important features hinting at the patriarch's incorruptible nature is revealed during his brief visit to earth when, after his luminous transformation, God send him back to the lower realm to deliver final directions to his children. In *2 Enoch* 56, during Enoch's instructions, Methuselah asks his father for a blessing so that he may prepare some food for him to eat. The translated hero, however, politely declines the offer to share earthly food lamenting that nothing earthly is agreeable with his current condition:

> Listen, child! Since the time when the Lord anointed me with the ointment of his glory, food has not come into me, and earthly pleasure my soul does not remember; nor do I desire anything earthly (*2 Enoch* 56:2, the longer recension).[158]

In the shorter recension of *2 Enoch*, the patriarch's rejection of food is even more decisive: "Listen my child! Since the time when the Lord anointed me with the ointment of my glory, it has been horrible for me, and food is not agreeable to me, and I have no desire for earthly food."[159] Here an important link is made between the changes in his nature during his luminous metamorphosis near the Throne of Glory and his newly ac-

---

[157] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 192.
[158] Ibid., 182.
[159] Ibid., 183.

quired condition of incorruptibility, which articulates the future state of the righteous in the final aeon.

Here again, through his connection with the eschatological state of incorruptibility, Enoch appears to be fashioned as the first fruit of the future aeon of the righteous, or maybe even as the one who already joined this final age. In this respect it is notable that in *2 Enoch* 55 Enoch tells his sons before his final departure that he shall go up to the highest heaven into his "eternal inheritance."[160]

Enoch as the Revealer

As has been previously mentioned, the cosmological account found in *2 Enoch* identifies Adoil as the revealer. The process of his disintegration in the narrative is rendered as the *revelation* of the created order: "And the great age came out, and it revealed all the creation which I had thought up to create."[161]

It is intriguing that in the Slavonic apocalypse Enoch is not only envisioned as the first fruit of the last age by bearing many future qualities of this eschatological entity, but he also testifies about it by delivering a verbal revelation about this aeon, the disclosure that never appears in any other part of the pseudepigraphon, even in the elaborated address of the Deity who conveys to the seer the innermost secrets of the universe. The role of the seventh antediluvian hero as the revealer of the most recondite mysteries of the world is not an invention of the *2 Enoch* authors since this office appears as a constant feature of the hero's biography, already found in the Mesopotamian materials constituting the conceptual background for this figure. Thus one of his Mesopotamian prototypes, the seventh antediluvian king Enmeduranki, is often described as the revealer and the "guardian (lit. guarding) of the secrets (*nāṣir pirišti*) of the great gods."[162] These titles anticipate the future roles of the patriarch as the revealer and expert in secrets in the Enochic tradition and his designation as יודע רזים ("Knower of Secrets") in the Metatron lore.[163] Esoteric dissemination will remain one

---

[160] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 182–3.

[161] Ibid., 144.

[162] Kvanvig, H. S. *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man*, 188. WMANT, 61. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988.

[163] John Collins notes that "Enoch's role as revealer is ... illuminated by the parallel with Enmeduranki. The Sumerian king was admitted into the divine assembly and shown mysteries that included the tablets of heaven and the tech-

of the major functions of the seventh patriarch in various Enochic traditions that depict him sharing astronomical, meteorological, calendarical, and eschatological knowledge with his sons and other people during his short visit to earth. Knowledge of secrets will also play a significant part in Metatron's duties in the Merkabah tradition where he will be responsible for transmitting the highest secrets to the princes under him, as well as to humankind.

What is striking in *2 Enoch,* however, is that the seventh antediluvian patriarch reveals not only by word of mouth but by the very nature of his ontological situation — i.e., he discloses the condition of the last age through his unique transformation and his righteousness. He thus in many ways anticipates in the present age the things that will occur at the end of time when the righteous of this world will be unified together. Like Adoil who "reveals" the protological aeon concealed in his "belly" by his very nature and disintegration, Enoch too is "pregnant" with the eschatological aeon and thus manifests an ontological state that all the righteous will eventually acquire.

Enoch as the Sacerdotal Foundation

In our previous discussion about the primordial "pillar" Adoil, it has been noted that he seems to be identified with the upper sacred foundation that serves as the basis for the heavenly Temple represented by the Throne of God which is envisioned in the text as the center of the created order. It is intriguing that, similar to Adoil who serves as the upper foundation of the heavenly Temple, Enoch appears to be envisioned as the sacerdotal foundation of the earthly Temple. In *2 Enoch* immediately after Enoch's instructions to his sons before his second and final ascension to the highest heaven, the firstborn son of Enoch, Methuselah, and his brothers constructed an altar at Akhuzan,[164] the exact location from which Enoch had been taken up. The place of the hero's departure then becomes envisioned in the text as the sacerdotal center of the earthly realm where priestly initiations and expiatory sacrifices involving animal blood take place. It is no coincidence, therefore, that *2 Enoch* identifies the place Akhuzan as the center of the world. This enigmatic Slavonic word is traced by scholars to the

---

niques of divination." Collins, J. J. *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism*, 45. SJSJ, 54. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

[164] Slav. *Ахузань.*

Hebrew word אחוזה "special property of God," which in Ezek 48:20–21 is applied to Jerusalem and the Temple.[165]

Here, similar to Adoil's protological role connected to the motif of the Throne of the Deity, Enoch's eschatological role is tied to the idea of the earthly counterpart of the Throne, the earthly Temple. The vertical axis of the Throne and the Temple is thus explicitly reaffirmed in the text, as is the horizontal line connecting the protological and eschatological events.

Later in the text Akhuzan also receives the additional protological reaffirmation of being identified with the place of Adam's creation. Here the protological and eschatological "pillars" are erected on the same place and the starting point of creation becomes the place of the beginning of the eschatological consummation.

Enoch as the Redeemer

In Chapter 64 of the longer recension of the Slavonic apocalypse, an interesting tradition can be found pertaining to the patriarch's unique role as redeemer of humanity. The chapter depicts the prostration of the elders of the people and of the whole community before Enoch at the place of his second departure to heaven. The people who came to bow down before the patriarch delivered to Enoch the following address:

> O our father, Enoch! May you be blessed by the Lord, the eternal king! And now, bless your [sons], and all the people, so that we may be glorified in front of your face today. For you will be glorified in front of the face [of the Lord for eternity], because you are the one whom the Lord chose in preference to all the people upon the earth; and he appointed you to be the one who makes a written record of all his creation, visible and invisible, and the one who carried away the sin of mankind (*2 Enoch* 64:4–5).[166]

An important detail in this address is Enoch's designation as "the one who carried away the sin of humankind." This role of redeemer is intriguing and might be related to his salvific mission in the destiny of the future aeon of the righteous.[167] Here Enoch is envisioned not simply as

---

[165] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 114.

[166] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 190.

[167] For criticism of the concept of Enoch as redeemer, see Grant Macaskill's *Revealed Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, 220ff. SJSJ, 115. Leiden: Brill, 2007. While Macaskill's study is important for providing critical insights in the issues of eschatology in the text and especially the

one among many other righteous persons nor as the righteous person par excellence, but he is the one who is able to bring others to righteousness.

It also appears to be significant that the patriarch's redeeming role is conflated in this passage with the theme of visible and invisible creation and his role as the recorder and revealer of cosmological knowledge.[168] Here again, as in the case of Adoil who serves as the link between the invis-

---

role of Enoch as redeemer, his arguments against the possibility of the redeeming office of the seventh antediluvian hero in *2 Enoch* appear to be weakened by his misunderstanding of the Slavonic terminology that stands behind the important title of Enoch as redeemer which is rendered in the text through the Slavonic words "otjatel"'/ "otimitel'." These nouns, which can be translated literally as the "taker" of human sin(s), are conveyed in Andersen's English translation through the expression "the one who is taking out the human sin(s)." Andersen's English rendering of the term appears to be a source of confusion for Macaskill who interprets the Slavonic nouns "otjatel"'/"otimitel"' as "resultative participles." Cf. Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom*, 225. It shows that Macaskill does not clearly understand the original Slavonic form of this title of Enoch which serves as the starting point for his argument and in many ways constitutes the terminological nexus of his office as the redeemer of humanity. Still his general analysis of other aspects of the text's eschatology is useful, though it is quite strange that his book that deals with the eschatological dimensions of the text manages to completely ignore the account of the final age and Enoch's eschatological role in relation to this entity.

[168] The importance of Enoch's writings in the eschatological time is reaffirmed in *2 Enoch* where the motif of the glorified righteous is invoked in the context of the eschatological time: "And I will leave a righteous man from your tribe, together with all his house, who will act according to my will. And from his seed another generation will rise, after many, but out of them many will be very gluttonous. Then at the conclusion of that generation the books in your handwriting will be revealed, and those of your fathers, and the earthly guardians (*stražie zemnye*) [of these books] will show them to the Men of Faith (*mužem' věrnym*), the ones who loyal to me, who do not invoke my name invalidly. And they will be recounted to that generation, and they will be glorified in the end more than in the beginning." *2 Enoch* 35:1–3 (the longer recension). Соколов, "Материалы," 35. The shorter recension offers a similar description: "And I will leave a righteous man from your tribe, together with all his house, who will act according to my will. And from his seed another generation will arise, the last of many, and very gluttonous. Then at the conclusion of that generation the books in your handwriting will be revealed, and those of your fathers, *and the earthly guardians (stražie zemnye)* [of these books] will show them to the Men of Faith (*mužem' věrnym*). And they will be recounted to that generation, and they will be glorified in the end more than in the beginning." *2 Enoch* 35:1–3 (the shorter recension) Соколов, "Материалы," 93.

ible and visible creation, Enoch holds knowledge of the plan not only in relation to the visible created order but also to its invisible counterpart.

CONCLUSION

The current study explored the roots of Enoch-Metatron's role as the foundation or pillar of the world prominent in later Jewish mysticism. Although in *2 Enoch* the seventh antediluvian hero is never directly named as either the foundation or the pillar, his eschatological role and participation in the eschatological aeon depicts him as the counterpart of the primordial foundation, the luminous aeon Adoil. In view of the later offices of Enoch-Metatron in the Hekhalot materials where the translated hero is portrayed as the sustainer of the created order, it is possible that in the Slavonic apocalypse one can see the rudimentary theological unfolding toward understanding Enoch-Metatron as the eschatological foundation of the world. These intriguing traditions again point to the formative value of the conceptual developments found in the Slavonic apocalypse that in many ways serve as a bridge between Jewish apocalypticism and early Jewish mysticism.

The Face as the Heavenly Counterpart of the Visionary in the Slavonic *Ladder of Jacob*

Introduction

The book of Genesis portrays Jacob as someone who not only saw God but also wrestled with Him. Jacob's visionary experiences begin in Genesis 28 where he sees in a dream the ladder on which the angels of God are ascending and descending. Above the ladder Jacob beholds the Lord. The distinct feature of the Bethel account is the paucity of theophanic imagery. Despite the fact that the vision is linked with the celestial realm ("ladder's top reaching to heaven"), which is labeled in the story as "the awesome place," "the house of God," and "the gate of heaven," the narrative does not offer any descriptions of God's celestial court or his appearance. Instead we have the audible revelation of God, his lengthy address to Jacob with promises and blessings.

God appears again to Jacob in Genesis 32. While the narrative stresses the importance of the vision of God (the account claims that Jacob "saw God face to face" and even called the place of wrestling Peniel/Penuel — "The Face of God"), it focuses its description on Jacob's *wrestling* with God rather than his *seeing* of God.

The reference to the motif of God's Face (which plays an important role in a number of biblical theophanic accounts)[169] and to Jacob's seeing of God "face to face" could however indicate that the authors or editors of Jacob's account might be cognizant of the broader anthropomorphic theophanic debates in which the motif of God's Face[170] played an impor-

---

[169] See, e.g., Exod. 33:18–23; Ps. 17:15.

[170] On the Face of God, see Balentine, S. *The Hidden God: The Hiding Face of God in the Old Testament*, 49–65. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983; De Conick, A.

tant role. In order to clarify these theophanic developments, which can shed further light on the background of Jacob's biblical story, the current research must turn to other materials associated with Jacob's traditions where his visionary accounts have a more elaborated form. Such materials include the *Ladder of Jacob*,[171] a Jewish pseudepigraphon, which has survived in its Slavonic translation.

"Heavenly Temple Traditions and Valentinian Worship: A Case for First Century Christology in the Second Century." In Newman, C. C., J. R. Davila and G. S. Lewis, eds. *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*, 325–30. JSJ, 63. Leiden: Brill, 1999; Eichrodt, W. *Theology of the Old Testament*, vol. 2, 35–9. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967. 2 vols.; Fishbane, M. "Form and Reformulation of the Biblical Priestly Blessing." *JAOS* 103 (1983): 115–21; Olyan, S. *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism*, 105–9. TSAJ, 36. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1993; Reindl, J. *Das Angesicht Gottes im Sprachgebrauch des Alten Testaments*, 236–7. ETS, 25. Leipzig: St. Benno, 1970; Smith, M. "'Seeing God' in the Psalms: The Background to the Beatific Vision in the Hebrew Bible." *CBQ* 50 (1988): 171–83.

[171] On the *Ladder of Jacob*, see Sparks, H. F. D., ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 453–63. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984; Bonwetsch, N. "Die Apokryphe 'Leiter Jakobs.'" *Göttinger Nachrichten, philol.-histor. Klasse* (1900): 76–87; Bratke, E. *Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sasaniden*, 101–6. TU, 19.3. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1899; Франко, И. *Апокріфи і легенди з українських рукописів* [Franko, I. *The Apocrypha and Legends from Ukrainian Manuscripts*], vol. 1, 108–20. Monumenta Linguae Necnon Litterarum Ukraino-Russicarum [Ruthenicarum]; 1–4, 5; L'vov, 1896–1910. 5 vols.; Яцимирский, А. И. *Библиографический обзор апокрифов в южнославянской и русской письменности (списки памятников). I. Апокрифы ветхозаветные* [Jacimirskij, A. I. *A Bibliographical Survey of Apocryphal Writings in South Slavonic and Old Russian Literature (Lists of Memorials). Vol. 1. The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*], 38–9. Petrograd, 1921; James, M. R. "Ladder of Jacob." In idem, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament*, 96–103. TED, 14. London: SPCK, 1920; Kugel, J. "The Ladder of Jacob." *HTR* 88 (1995): 209–27; Кушелев-Безбородко, Г. *Памятники старинной русской литературы* [Kushelev-Bezborodko, G. *Memorials of Ancient Russian Literature*], vol. 3, 27–32. St. Petersburg, 1865. 4 vols.; Порфирьев, И. Я. "Палея Толковая по списку сделанному в г. Коломне в 1406 г." [Porfir'ev, I. Ja. "*Palaea Interpretata* according to the Kolomna manuscript of 1406"]. In *Труды учеников Н. С. Тихонравова* [*Works of N. S. Tikhonravov's Disciples*], vol. 1, 153–66. Moscow, 1892; idem, "Апокрифические сказания о ветхозаветных лицах и событиях по рукописям соловецкой библиотеки" [Porfir'ev, I. Ja. "The Apocryphal Stories about Old Testament Characters and Events according to the Manuscripts of the Solovetzkoj Library "]. *Сборник отделения русского языка и словесности* [*A Collection of the Deparment of Russian Language and Literature of the Imperial Academy of Sciences*] 17.1 (St.

THE SLAVONIC ACCOUNT OF JACOB'S VISION

The materials known under the title the *Ladder of Jacob*, have been preserved solely in Slavonic as a part of the so-called *Tolkovaja Paleja* (the Explanatory Palaia) where the editors of its various versions reworked[172] and rearranged them. Despite its long life inside the compendium of heterogeneous materials and its long history of transmission in Greek and Slavonic mileux, the pseudepigraphon seems to have preserved several early traditions that can safely be placed within the Jewish environment of the first century CE. Scholars propose that the Slavonic *Ladder of Jacob* is most likely derived from its Greek variant, which in turn appears to have been translated from Hebrew or Aramaic.[173] The content of the work is connected with Jacob's dream about the ladder and the interpretation of the vision. In Horace Lunt's translation, the text is divided into seven chapters.[174] The first chapter depicts Jacob's dream in which he sees the ladder and receives

---

Petersburg, 1877): 138–49; Салмина, М. А. "Лествица Иакова" [Salmina, M. A. "The Ladder of Jacob"]. In Лихачев, Д. С. [Lihachev, D. S.], ed. *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси (XI – первая половина XIV в.)* [*Dictionary of Bibliophiles and Book Culture in Ancient Russia (11th through first half of 14th Centuries)*], 230–1. Leningrad: Nauka, 1987; Святский, Д. *Лестница Иакова или сон наяву* [Svjatskij, D. *The Ladder of Jacob or the Waking Dream*], 31–2. St. Petersburg: M. Stasjulevich, 1911; Тихонравов, Н. С. *Памятники отреченной русской литературы* [Tihonravov, N. S. *Memorials of Russian Apocryphal Literature*], vol. 1, 91–5. St. Petersburg, 1863. 2 vols.; *Толковая палея 1477 года* [*Palaea Interpretata of 1477*], 100a–107b. Общество любителей древнерусской письменности [*The Society of Lovers of Ancient Russian Literature*], 93. St. Petersburg, 1892; Вторых, Н. М. *Древности. Труды Славянской комиссии Московского археологического общества* [Vtoryh, N. M. *Antiquities. Works of the Slavonic Commission of the Moscow Archeological Society*] 2 (1902): Протокол 1.

[172] Lunt observes that the seventh chapter of the *Ladder* is a later Christian addition juxtaposed to the story by a Slavic (possibly, Russian) editor of *Palaia*; see Lunt, H. G. "Ladder of Jacob." In *OTP*, vol. 2, 401–11 at 404–405.

[173] Kugel, "The Ladder of Jacob," 209.

[174] In this paper I have used H. Lunt's English translation of *Ladder* and follow his division of chapters and verses; see Lunt, "Ladder of Jacob," 401–11. The Slavonic citations are drawn from the following publications of the manuscripts: Recension A — MS S (Sinodal'naja Palaia. Sin. 210) published in *Толковая палея 1477 года*, 100a–107b; MS R (Rumjancevskaja Palaia. Rum. 455) published in Кушелев-Безбородко, *Памятники*, vol. 2, 27–32; MS F (Krehivskaja Palaia) published in Франко, *Апокріфи*, vol. 1, 108–20; Recension B — MS K (Kolomenskaja Palaia. Tr.-Serg. 38) published in Тихонравов, *Памятники*, vol. 1, 91–5, and in Порфирьев, "Палея толковая по списку ... 1406 г.," 153–66; MS P (Solovec-

God's audible revelation about the promised land and blessings upon his descendants. In the second chapter, a reader encounters Jacob's lengthy prayer to God in which he uncovers additional details of his dream and asks God to help him interpret the dream. In chapter 3, God sends to Jacob the angel Sariel as an interpreter. In chapter 4, Sariel informs Jacob that his name has been changed to Israel. Perceptive readers may thus notice that despite the title of pseudepigraphon, its text is not only confined to the ladder account but also accommodates features of Jacob's other visions, namely, the substitution of his name during the wrestling account. The last three chapters of the *Ladder* recount Sariel's eschatological interpretations of Jacob's dream in which he reveals to the visionary the details of future human history.

THE FACE AS GOD'S *KAVOD*

The imagery of the divine/angelic faces plays a prominent role in the first chapter of *Ladder*. The text describes Jacob's dream in which he sees a twelve step ladder, fixed on the earth, whose top reaches to heaven with the angels ascending and descending on it. This familiar biblical motif then is elaborated further and adds some new features.[175] The story relates that on the ladder Jacob sees twenty-two human faces with their chests, two of them on each step of the ladder. On the top of the ladder, he also beholds another human face "carved out of fire"[176] with its shoulders and arms. In comparison with the previous "faces," this fiery "higher" face looks "exceedingly terrifying." The text portrays God standing above this

---

kaja Palaia. Sol. 653) published in Порфирьев, "Апокрифические сказания," 138–49.

[175] *Ladder of Jacob* 1.3–10 reads: "And behold, a ladder was fixed on the earth, whose top reaches to heaven. And the top of the ladder was the face as of a man, carved out of fire. There were twelve steps leading to the top of the ladder, and on each step to the top there were two human faces, on the right and on the left, twenty-four faces (or busts) including their chests. And the face in the middle was higher than all that I saw, the one of fire, including the shoulders and arms, exceedingly terrifying, more than those twenty-four faces. And while I was still looking at it, behold, angels of God ascended and descended on it. And God was standing above its highest face, and he called to me from there, saying, 'Jacob, Jacob!' And I said, 'Here I am, Lord!' And he said to me, 'The land on which you are sleeping, to you will I give it, and to your seed after you. And I will multiply your seed ....'" Lunt, "Ladder of Jacob," 407.

[176] Ibid., 406.

"highest" face and calling Jacob by his name. The depiction leaves the impression that God's voice[177] is hidden behind this fiery terrifying "face" as a distinct divine manifestation, behind which God conveys to Jacob his audible revelation about the Promised Land and the blessings upon Jacob's descendants.

This description of the celestial "Face" as the fiery anthropomorphic extent,[178] which serves as the embodiment of the Deity leads us to another Slavonic text in which the theme of the fiery Face looms large. This text is *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*, a Jewish apocalypse, the hypothetical date of which (c. first century CE) is in close proximity to the date of *Ladder*. *2 Enoch* 22[179] contains a theophanic depiction of the Face of the Lord, which emits light and fire. The important detail that connects this passage with *Ladder* is that the Face in *2 Enoch* is similarly defined as "fiery"[180] and "terrifying."[181] Another parallel is that in both *2 Enoch* and *Ladder* the Face is understood

---

[177] James Charlesworth notes that in the *Ladder,* as "in some of other pseudepigrapha, the voice has ceased to be something heard and has become a hypostatic creature." See Charlesworth's comment in Lunt, "Ladder of Jacob," 406.

[178] I use the term "extent" since the *Ladder* specifically mentions shoulders and arms in its description of the Face.

[179] *2 En.* 22.1–4 (the longer recension): "I saw the view of the face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot in a fire and brought out, and it emits sparks and is incandescent. Thus even I saw the face of the Lord. But the face of the Lord is not to be talked about, it is so very marvelous and supremely awesome and supremely frightening. And who am I to give an account of the incomprehensible being of the Lord, and of his face, so extremely strange and indescribable? And how many are his commands, and his multiple voice, and the Lord's throne, supremely great and not made by hands, and the choir stalls all around him, the cherubim and the seraphim armies, and their never-silent singing. Who can give an account of his beautiful appearance, never changing and indescribable, and his great glory? And I fell down flat and did obeisance to the Lord." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 136.

[180] F. Andersen in his commentary on *2 En.* 22 notes the similarities between the fiery face in *2 Enoch* and the face of fire in *Ladder*. Cf. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 137, n. 22d.

[181] Both Slavonic pseudepigraphons in their description of the Face share the similar Slavonic terminology, words like face (**лице**); fiery (**огнена, изъ огна**); terrifying (**страшно**). Cf. Франко, *Апокрифи*, vol. 1, 109; Кушелев-Безбородко, *Памятники*, vol. 3, 27; Порфирьев, "Апокрифические сказания," 38; Тихонравов, *Памятники*, vol. 1, 91; *Толковая палея 1477 года*, 100b; Vaillant, A. *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, 24 and 38. Texte slave et trad. française. Paris, ²1976.

as the luminous representation of the Deity, behind which He can convey His audible revelation to visionaries.[182]

It is noteworthy that the incandescent Face in *2 Enoch*, as well as in *Ladder*, is depicted not as a part of an angelic or divine "Body" but rather as the fiery "forefront" of the whole anthropomorphic extent.[183]

It has been previously noted[184] that this fiery extent, labeled in some biblical and intertestamental texts as the "Face," is related to the glorious celestial entity known in theophanic traditions as God's *Kavod*.[185] In these traditions, the Face often serves to designate the radiant *façade* of the divine *Kavod*.[186] This tendency to equate the Face with the *Kavod* can be found already in some biblical accounts, including Exod. 33:18–23, where in response to Moses' plea to God to show him his *Glory*, God answers that it is impossible for a human being to see God's face.[187]

The second chapter of the *Ladder*, in which the visionary asks God to interpret the dream, provides several additional important details about the dream that explicitly identify the fiery Face with God's *Kavod*.

---

[182] See De Conick, *Seek to See Him*, 104–5.

[183] It is notable that although the *Ladder* uses the Slavonic term *lice* ("face") in its depiction of the "Face," the text mentions that the face Jacob sees has also shoulders and arms.

[184] Orlov, A. "Ex 33 on God's Face: A Lesson from the Enochic Tradition." *Society of Biblical Literature 2000 Seminar Papers*, 130–47. SBLSP, 39. Atlanta: Scholars, 2000.

[185] The early traces of this tendency to identify *Kavod* with the Face within Enochic tradition can be seen already in the *Book of the Watchers* 14 where the enthroned Glory is labeled the *Face*. Cf. *1 En.* 14:21: "And no angel could enter, and at the appearance of the face (*gaṣṣ*) of him who is honored and praised no (creature of) flesh could look." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.99.

[186] It is noteworthy, that already in the classic Ezekielian description of God's Glory in Ezek. 1:27, *Kavod* is described similarly to the description of the Face in *Ladder,* namely, as the fiery *bust*: "I saw that from what appeared to be his *waist up* he looked like glowing metal, as it full of fire, and that from there down he looked like fire; and brilliant light surrounded him."

[187] See Exod. 33:18–23: "Then Moses said, 'Now show me your glory (כבדך).' And the Lord said, 'I will cause all my goodness to pass in front of you, and I will proclaim my name, the Lord, in your presence... but,' he said, 'you cannot see my face (פני), for no one may see me and live.'"

In the second chapter of the Slavonic text, Jacob offers a prayer in which he discloses further details of his vision of the Face. *Ladder* 2:7–19 reads:

> Lord God of Adam your creature and Lord God of Abraham and Isaac my fathers and of all who have walked before you in justice! You who sit firmly on the cherubim and the fiery throne of glory ... and the many-eyed (ones) just I saw in my dream, holding the four-faced cherubim, bearing also the many-eyed seraphim, carrying the whole world under your arm, yet not being borne by anyone; you who have made the skies firm for the glory of your name, stretching out on two heavenly clouds the heaven which gleams under you, that beneath it you may cause the sun to course and conceal it during the night so that it might not seem a god; (you) who made on them a way for the moon and the stars; and you make the moon wax and wane, and destine the stars to pass on so that they too might not seem gods. Before the face of your glory the six-winged seraphim are afraid, and they cover their feet and faces with their wings, while flying with their other (wings), and they sing unceasingly a hymn: ... whom I now in sanctifying a new (song) ... Twelve-topped, twelve-faced, many-named, fiery one! Lightning-eyed holy one! Holy, Holy, Holy, Yao, Yaova, Yaoil, Yao, Kados, Chavod, Savaoth....[188]

Several details are important in this description. Jacob's prayer reveals that his dream about the Face might represent the vision of the Throne of God's Glory. A number of points need to be noted to support this conclusion:

a. The prayer refers to "his many-eyed ones,"[189] alluding to האופנים, the Wheels, the special class of the Angels of the Throne who are described in Ezek. 1:18 as the angelic beings "full of eyes."
b. The text describes the Deity as seated on the fiery Throne of Glory.
c. The vision contains references to the angelic liturgy and the *Trisagion.*
d. The text refers to the fear of the angelic hosts, who stand in the front of the terrifying fiery "Face" and try to protect themselves with their wings ("before the face of your glory the six-winged seraphim are afraid, and they cover their feet and faces with their wings"). The motif of protection against the harmful brilliance

---

[188] Lunt, "Ladder of Jacob," 408.
[189] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 137.

of God's Throne is typical to theophanic descriptions of *Kavod* from the earliest accounts found in Isa. 6:1–4 to the latest accounts found in *3 Enoch*, which relate that "... in *'Arabot* there are 660 thousands of myriads of glorious angels, hewn out of flaming fire, standing opposite the throne of glory. The glorious King covers his face, otherwise the heaven of *'Arabot* would burst open in the middle, because of the glorious brilliance."[190]

e. The passage also contains a specific terminology associated with the Throne imagery. It has been mentioned earlier that the Slavonic text of the *Ladder* is possibly based on the Semitic original. *Ladder of Jacob* 2.18 contains a non-Slavonic word *Chavod*[191] which the translator (H. Lunt) defines as the transliterated Hebrew term *Kavod*.[192]

f. Finally, the passage explicitly identifies the fiery Face with God's glory. *Ladder of Jacob* 2:15 says that "before the face of your glory the six-winged seraphim are afraid...." Thus the fiery face in *Ladder* 1:6 is not just any face but the Face of God.

The apparent similarities between two Slavonic accounts indicate that *Ladder*, as well as *2 Enoch*, seem to represent a single tradition in which the fiery Face is associated with *Kavod*.

Additional evidence to support the view that the fiery Face on the ladder in *Ladder* represents God's *Kavod* can be found in the targumic accounts of Jacob's story. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* and *Targum Onqelos* give numerous references to the Glory of the Lord in their description of Jacob's vision of the ladder.

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Gen. 28:13–17 reads:

> And, behold, the Glory of the Lord (יקרא דה) stood beside him and said to him, "I am the Lord, the God of your father Abraham and the God of Isaac. The land on which you are lying I will give to you and to your children" ... And Jacob awoke from his sleep and said, "In truth the Glory of the Shekinah (יקר שבינתא) of the Lord dwells in this place,

---

[190] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 223–315 at 305.

[191] MS *S*—*Chavod*; MS *R*—*Chavod*; MS *F*—*Chsavod*. See *Толковая палея 1477 года*, 101b; Кушелев-Безбородко, *Памятники*, vol. 3, 28; Франко, *Апокріфи*, vol. 1, 110.

[192] See Lunt, "Ladder of Jacob," 408, n. 2.i.

> and I did not know it." He was afraid and said, "How awesome and glorious is this place! This is not a profane place, but a sanctuary to the name of the Lord; and this is (a place) suitable for prayer, corresponding to the gate of heaven, founded beneath the Throne of Glory (בורסי יקרא)."[193]

Targum Onqelos[194] to Gen. 28:13–16 also reflects the same tradition, which depicts Jacob's encounter as the vision of the divine Glory. In both targumic accounts, the Glory of the Lord seems topologically located in the place which in *Ladder* is occupied by the Face.

THE FACE AS JACOB'S HEAVENLY COUNTERPART

Scholars have previously noted that in *Ladder* the fiery Face not only embodies God's Glory but also seems to represent the heavenly counterpart of Jacob.[195] They observe that the bust of fire, labeled in *Ladder* as the Face, can be associated with the heavenly "image" of Jacob engraved on the Throne of Glory.[196] The traditions about the heavenly "image" of Jacob

---

[193] *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, 99–100. Tr. by M. Maher. AB, 1B. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992; Díez Macho, A., ed. *Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia.* IV. *Targum Palaestinense in Pentateuchum*, vol. 1, 195–7. Matriti: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1977. 5 vols.

[194] "...and here, The Glory of the Lord (יקרא דיי) was standing over him, and He said, 'I am the Lord, the God of your Father Abraham and the God of Isaac: the on which you sleep I will give to you and to your offspring ....' The Jacob awoke from his sleep and said, 'Truly the Glory of the Lord (יקרא דיי) dwells in this place, and I did not know it.'" *The Targum Onqelos to Genesis*, 104. Tr. by B. Grossfeld. Aramaic Bible, 6. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988; Aberbach, M., and B. Grossfeld, eds. *Targum Onkelos to Genesis: A Critical Analysis Together with an English Translation of the Text*, 171. New York: Ktav, 1982.

[195] Fossum, J. *The Image of the Invisible God*, 135–51 at 143. NTOA, 30. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995.

[196] "... [in the *Ladder*] in the fiery bust of the terrifying man we are probably correct to see the heavenly 'image' of Jacob." Fossum, *The Image*, 143, n. 30.

are present in several targumic[197] texts,[198] including *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*, *Targum Neofiti*,[199] and *Fragmentary Targum*.[200]

In *Targ. Ps.-J.* to Gen 28.12 the following description can be found:

> He [Jacob] had a dream, and behold, a ladder was fixed in the earth with its top reaching toward the heavens ... and on that day they (angels) ascended to the heavens on high, and said, Come and see Jacob the pious, whose image is fixed (engraved) in the Throne of Glory (דאיקונין דיליה קביעא בכורסי יקרא), and whom you have desired to see.[201]

A distinctive feature of this description is that the heavenly counterpart of Jacob, his "image," is engraved on a very special celestial entity, on the *Throne of Glory*. Engraving on the Throne might indicate an association with the *Kavod* since the Throne is the central part of the *Kavod* imagery — the seat of the anthropomorphic Glory of the Lord. The image engraved

---

[197] The same tradition can be found in rabbinic texts. *Gen. R.* 68:12 reads: "... hus it says, Israel in whom I will be glorified (Isa. xlix, 3); it is thou, [said the angels,] whose features are engraved on high; they ascended on high and saw his features and they descended below and found him sleeping." *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 2, 626. On Jacob's image on the Throne of Glory, see also *Gen. R.* 78:3; 82:2; *Num. R.* 4:1; *b. Hul.* 91b; *PRE.* 35.

[198] On the traditions about Jacob's image engraved on the Throne see Wolfson, E. R. *Along the Path: Studies in Kabbalistic Myth, Symbolism, and Hermeneutics*, 1–62, 111–86. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995.

[199] "And he dreamed, and behold, a ladder was fixed on the earth and its head reached to the height of the heavens; and behold, the angels that had accompanied him from the house of his father ascended to bear good tidings to the angels on high, saying: "Come and see the pious man whose image is engraved in the throne of Glory, whom you desired to see." And behold, the angels from before the Lord ascended and descended and observed him." *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis*, 140. Tr. by M. McNamara. Aramaic Bible, 1A. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992.

[200] "... And he dreamt that there was a ladder set on the ground, whose top reached towards the heavens; and behold the angels that had accompanied him from his father's house ascended to announce to the angels of the heights: 'Come and see the pious man, whose image is fixed to the throne of glory....'" Klein, M. L. *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch According to Their Extant Sources*, vol. 1, 57, and vol. 2, 20.; AB, 76. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980. 2 vols.

[201] *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, 99–100; *Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia*, vol. 1, 195.

on the Throne might be an allusion to the face,[202] the fiery face, since it is engraved on the fiery and glorious Throne of the Glory.

Besides the tradition of "engraving" on the Throne, some Jewish materials point to an even more radical identification of Jacob's image with *Kavod*. Jarl Fossum's research[203] demonstrates that in some traditions about Jacob's image, his "image" or "likeness" is depicted not simply as *engraved* on the heavenly Throne, but as *seated* upon the Throne of Glory.[204] Fossum argues that this second tradition is original. Christopher Rowland proposed that Jacob's image is "identical with the form of God on the throne of glory (Ezek. 1:26f.)."[205] J. Fossum offers additional support for this idea by pointing out that the Hebrew forms of the Greek loan word εἰκών, used in the Targums and *Gen. R.* 68.12, are synonymous with צלם and דמות.[206] He further suggests that "איקונין or דיוקנא can thus be seen to denote a bodily form, even that of God, that is the divine Glory."[207]

The hypothesis about the identification of Jacob's image and the divine Glory returns us again to the imagery of God's *Kavod* with which, as has been shown earlier, the Face in *Ladder* and *2 Enoch* is closely associated.

Enochic materials may also correlate the Face of God (divine *Kavod*) with the heavenly counterpart of the visionary. In *2 Enoch*, the Face of the Lord seems to play an important role in the description of Enoch's heavenly counterpart. *2 Enoch* 39:3–6 depicts the patriarch who, during his short trip to the earth, retells to his children his earlier encounter with the Face. Enoch relates:

> You, my children, you see my face, a human being created just like yourselves; I am one who has seen the face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot by a fire, emitting sparks. For you gaze into my eyes, a human being created just like yourselves; but I have gazed into the eyes of the

---

[202] *Hekhalot Rabbati* (*Synopse* § 164) attests to the tradition of Jacob's face engraved on the throne of glory: פניו יעקב אביהם שהיא חקוקה לי על כסא כבודי; see Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 72.

[203] Fossum, *The Image*, 140–41.

[204] Fossum notes that this tradition is already observable in some versions of the *Fragmentary Targum* which do not contain the verb "engraved" or "fixed." *The Image*, 141. He also points to a certain baraita (*b.* Hul. 91b) that seems to attests to the same tradition.

[205] Rowland, C. "John 1:51, Jewish Apocalyptic and Targumic Tradition." *NTS* 30 (1984): 498–507, at 504.

[206] Fossum, *The Image*, 142.

[207] Ibid., 142.

> Lord, like the rays of the shining sun and terrifying the eyes of a human being. You, my children, you see my right hand beckoning you, a human being created identical to yourselves; but I have seen the right hand of the Lord, beckoning me, who fills heaven. You see the extent of my body, the same as your own; but I have seen the extent of the Lord, without measure and without analogy, who has no end.[208]

Enoch's description provides a series of analogies in which the earthly Enoch compares his face and parts of his body with the attributes of the Lord's Face and body. For this investigation, however, another juxtaposition is most pertinent. It is a contrast between the two identities of the visionary: the earthly Enoch ("a human being created just like yourselves") and his heavenly counterpart ("the one who has seen the Face of God"). It appears that Enoch tries to describe himself in two different modes of existence: as a human being who now stands before his children with a human face and body and as the one who has seen God's Face in the celestial realm.

These descriptions of two conditions (earthly and celestial) occur repeatedly in tandem. It is possible that the purpose of Enoch's instruction to his children is not to stress the difference between his human body and the Lord's body, but to emphasize the distinction between *this* Enoch, a human being "created just like yourselves," and the *other* angelic Enoch who has been standing before the Lord's face. Enoch's previous transformation into the glorious one and his initiation into *Sar ha-Panim* in *2 En.* 22.7 support this suggestion. It is unlikely that Enoch somehow completely abandoned his supra-angelic status and his unique place before the Face of the Lord granted to him in the previous chapters. An account of Enoch's permanent installation can be found in chapter 36 where the Lord tells Enoch, before his short visit to the earth, that a place has been prepared for him and that he will be in the front of Lord's face "from *now* and forever."[209] Finally, in chapter 43,[210] Enoch introduces himself to his children as the Governor[211]

---

[208] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 163.

[209] *2 Enoch* 36:3. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 161.

[210] A similar testimony can also be found in the passage of *2 Enoch* preserved in the Slavonic collection of ethical writings, "The Just Balance" (*Merilo Pravednoe*), in which the existence of *2 Enoch* was first made public. Cf. Тихомиров, М. Н. *Мерило Праведное по рукописи XIV века* [Tihomirov, M. N. *The Just Balance according to the Manuscript of 14th Century*]. Moscow: AN SSSR, 1961.

[211] Andersen translates the title as "the manager of the arrangements on earth," see Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.217.

of the World. [212] This title gives additional proof for the fact that the permanent installation of Enoch-Metatron in the heavenly offices, including the office of the Prince of the World (שר העולם), has already taken place.

The importance of this account for the idea of the heavenly counterpart in *2 Enoch* is apparent because it points to the simultaneous existence of Enoch's angelic double installed in heaven and its human counterpart, whom God sends periodically on missionary errands. Targumic and rabbinic Jacob accounts also attest to this view of the heavenly counterpart when they depict angels beholding Jacob as one who at one and the same time is installed in heaven and is sleeping on earth.[213]

The idea about the heavenly counterpart of the visionary found in *2 Enoch* is also present in another early Enochic account. One of the booklets of *1 (Ethiopic) Enoch* attests a similar tradition. Scholars have previously observed[214] that the *Similitudes* seem to entertain the idea of the heavenly twin of a visionary when it identifies Enoch with the Son of Man.[215] For a long time, students of the Enochic traditions were puzzled by the fact that the Son of Man, who in previous chapters of the *Similitudes* has been distinguished from Enoch, becomes suddenly identified in *1 Enoch* 71 with

---

[212] On this title of Enoch and its connection with the office of the Prince of the World, see Orlov, A. "Titles of Enoch-Metatron in *2 Enoch*." *JSP* 18 (1998): 82–5.

[213] *Targ. Neof.* to Gen 28:12: "...and behold, the angels from before the Lord ascended and descended and observed him [Jacob]." *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis*, 140; *Gen. R.* 68.12: "...they ascended on high and saw his features and they descended below and found him sleeping." *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 2, 626.

[214] See VanderKam, J. "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37–71." In Charlesworth, J. H., et al., eds. *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity. The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins*, 161–91 at 182–83. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992; Knibb, M. A. "Messianism in the Pseudepigrapha in the Light of the Scrolls." *DSD* 2 (1995): 177–80; Fossum, *The Image*, 144–5; Fletcher-Louis, C. H. T. *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology*, 151. WUNT, 2/94. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1997.

[215] It is important to note that in the *Similitudes,* the Son of Man is depicted as seated on the Throne of Glory. See *1 En.* 62:5; 69:29. Fossum observes that "in the 'Similitudes' the 'Elect One' or 'Son of Man' who identified as the patriarch Enoch, is enthroned upon the 'throne of glory.' If 'glory' does not qualify the throne but its occupant, Enoch is actually identified with the Glory of God." Fossum further concludes that "...the 'Similitudes of Enoch' present an early parallel to the targumic description of Jacob being seated upon the 'throne of glory.'" Fossum, *The Image*, 145.

the patriarch. James VanderKam suggests that this puzzle can be explained by the Jewish notion, attested in several ancient Jewish texts, that a creature of flesh and blood could have a heavenly double or counterpart.[216] To provide an example, VanderKam points to Jacob's traditions in which the patriarch's "features are engraved on high."[217] He stresses that this theme of the visionary's ignorance of his higher angelic identity is observable, for example, in the *Prayer of Joseph.*

It is noteworthy that in the *Similitudes*, similarly in *2 Enoch* and *Ladder*,[218] the theme of the heavenly counterpart seems to conflate with the imagery of God's *Kavod. 1 Enoch* 71:5 reports that Enoch is brought by Michael to the fiery structure, surrounded by the rivers of living fire, which he describes as "a something built of crystal stones, and in the middle of those stones tongues of living fire."[219] There is no doubt that the fiery "structure" in the *Similitudes* represents the Throne of Glory, which, in another booklet of *1 Enoch*, is also described as the crystal structure issuing streams of fire.[220] An explicit reference to the Throne of Glory in *1 En.* 71:8,[221] immediately after the description of the fiery "crystal" structure, makes this clear. Similarities between *1 Enoch* 71 and *2 Enoch* 22 in the depictions of *Kavod* and Enoch's transformation near the Throne of Glory are also apparent.

a. In both accounts (*1 En.* 71:3–5 and *2 En.* 22:6), Enoch is brought to the Throne by archangel Michael.

---

[216] VanderKam, "Righteous One," 182–3.

[217] Ibid.

[218] A notable detail in the description is that during his ascension Enoch, in a manner similar to Jacob's vision of the ladder, sees the angelic "movements" and the angelic "faces." In *1 En.* 71:1 he reports about "...the sons of the holy angels treading upon flames of fire, and their garments (were) white, and their clothing, and the light of their face (was) like snow." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 165.

[219] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 166.

[220] In the *Book of the Watchers* 14:18–19 the Throne of Glory is also described as a crystal structure surrounded of the rivers of fire. The reference to "crystal" structure also recalls the depiction of the Throne in Ezek. 1.26, where it is described as a throne of sapphire (ספיר).

[221] *1 En.* 71:7: "And round about (were) the Seraphim, and the Cherubim, and the Ophannim; these are they who do not sleep, but keep watch over the throne of his glory" Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 166.

b. Angelology of the Throne in *1 Enoch*, as in *2 Enoch* and *Ladder*,[222] includes three classes of angelic beings: ophannim, cherubim and seraphim.
c. Both Enochic accounts speak about the transformation of the visionary. Enoch's metamorphosis in *1 Enoch* 71 recalls the description of the luminous transformation of Enoch into a glorious heavenly being from *2 En.* 22:8–9.
d. In both cases, the transformation takes place in front of the fiery "structure," a possible source of both transformations.
e. Studies in the past have noted that in both accounts the transformation of the visionary takes place in the context of the angelic liturgy (*2 En.* 21:1–22.10; *1 En.* 71:11–12).[223] The same feature is also observable in *Ladder* 2.15–18.
f. In both accounts Enoch falls on his face before the Throne.[224]
g. The manner in which Enoch is greeted near the Throne of Glory in *1 En.* 71:14–17 evokes the scene from *2 En.* 22:5–6, where the Lord personally greets Enoch. In both accounts we have an address in which the visionary is informed about his "eternal" status. [225]

These features of both Enochic accounts, entertaining the idea of the heavenly twin, point to the importance of the vision of the *Kavod* in the process of acquiring knowledge about the heavenly counterparts of the visionaries. It is not coincidental that in Jacob's tradition, which also attests the idea of the heavenly counterpart, the vision of God's glory also becomes an important theophanic motif. It is clearly recognizable in the targumic Jacob's accounts and the Ladder, where reports about Jacob's an-

---

[222] The *Ladder* also refers to three classes of angels, ophannim (many-eyed ones), cherubim and seraphim, right after the remark about the Throne: "...the fiery Throne of Glory ... and the many-eyed (ones) just I saw in my dream, holding the four-faced cherubim, bearing also the many-eyed seraphim." Lunt, "Ladder of Jacob," 408.

[223] Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts*, 154.

[224] *1 En.* 71:11: "And I fell upon my face." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 166; *2 En.* 21:2 : "I fell on my face." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 135.

[225] *1 En.* 71:14–15: "You are the Son of Man who was born to righteousness, and righteousness remains over you...and so you will have it for ever and for ever and ever." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 166–7; *2 En.* 22:5–6: "Be brave, Enoch! Don't be frightened! Stand up, and stand in front of my face *forever*." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 138–9.

gelic counterpart are creatively conflated with theophanic traditions about the vision of God's *Kavod.*

URIEL-SARIEL-PHANUEL

Another prominent trait that links Jacob's account in the *Ladder* with both above mentioned Enochic accounts (*1 En.* 71 and *2 En.* 22) is the reference to the angel Sariel, also known in various traditions under the names of Phanuel and Uriel.[226]

In *2 Enoch* 22–23, Uriel[227] plays an important role during Enoch's initiations near the Throne of Glory.[228] He instructs Enoch about various subjects of esoteric knowledge in order to prepare him for various celestial offices, including the office of the Heavenly Scribe.

1 Enoch 71 also refers to the same angel and names him Phanuel. In the *Similitudes*, he occupies an important place among the four principal angels, namely, the place usually assigned to Uriel. In fact, the angelic name "Pha-

---

[226] J. Smith observes that in five instances in *1 Enoch* (40:9; 54:6; 71:8, 9, 13), confined to the *Similitudes*, Phanuel replaces Uriel in a catalog of the four archangels. He also points out that while Sariel is a relatively unknown angelic figure, his name seems to be quite frequently conflated with Uriel, as in *1 En.* 9:1. Cf. Smith, J. Z. "Prayer of Joseph." In *OTP*, vol. 2, 699–714, at 708–709. For the discussion about Uriel/Sariel/Phanuel, see Greenfield, J. "Prolegomenon." In Odeberg, H. *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch*, xxxiv–xxxv. New York: KTAV, 1973; Lunt, "The Ladder of Jacob," 405, n. 10; Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 170–4; Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands*, 105–9; Smith, J. Z. "The Prayer of Joseph." In Neusner, J., ed. *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, 270 and 227. SHR, 14. Leiden: Brill, 1968; Vermes, G. "The Archangel Sariel: A Targumic Parallel to the Dead Sea Scrolls." In Neusner, J. ed. *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults*, 159–66. SJLA, 12.3. Leiden: Brill, 1975; idem, "The Impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on Jewish Studies During the Last Twenty-Five Years," *JJS* 26 (1975): 1–14 at 13.

[227] Slav. **Иереиилъ** (*Vereveil*).

[228] The beginning of this tradition can be found in the *Book of Heavenly Luminaries* (*1 En.* 74:2), where Enoch writes the instructions of the angel Uriel regarding the secrets of heavenly bodies and their movements. See Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 173.

nuel" might be a title which stresses the celestial status of Uriel/Sariel[229] as one of the servants of the divine *Panim*.[230]

The title "Phanuel" is reminiscent of the terminology found in various Jacob's accounts. In Gen. 32:31, Jacob names the place (המקום) of his wrestling with God as Peniel (פניאל) — the Face of God.[231] Scholars believe that the angelic name *Phanuel* and the place *Peniel* are etymologically connected.[232]

Although the *Ladder*'s narrative does not directly refer to the angel named Phanuel, it uses another of his names, Sariel, in reference to the angelic being, who interprets Jacob's dream and announces to him his new angelic status, depicted symbolically in the changing of the patriarch's name to Israel. The *Ladder of Jacob* 2 portrays Jacob asking God in prayer for help in interpreting the dream. Chapter 3 of the *Ladder* relates that God responds to Jacob's prayer by commanding: "Sariel, leader of those who comfort, you who in charge of dreams, go and make Jacob understand the meaning of the dream." The text further depicts the angelophany of Sariel

---

[229] Vermes observes that at Qumran, "Sariel becomes one of the four chief angels, replacing Uriel, the traditional fourth archangel in the Greek Enoch and midrashic literature ... He also appears in an Aramaic fragment of 4Q Enoch 9.1." Vermes, "The Impact," 13.

[230] *Hekhalot Rabbati* (*Synopse* § 108) refers to the angel Suria/Suriel as the Prince of the Face: סוריא/סוריאל שר הפנים. Cf. Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 52. On the identification of Sariel with the Prince of the Presence, see Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 99–100; Smith, "Prayer of Joseph," 709.

[231] The connection between the terms God's Face (פניאל) and the Place (המקום) in Gen. 32:31 is important. In later theophanic contexts the term המקום is closely associated with the *Kavod* imagery. This tradition can be found, for example, in *3 En.* 45:1; 47:1; 48D:8. *3 Enoch* also uses an expression "the Curtain (*pargod*) of the Place" in reference to the celestial veil, which shields the angelic hosts from the harmful luminescence of the *Kavod*.

[232] G. Vermes suggests that the angelic name Phanuel "is depended on the Peniel/Penuel of Genesis 32." Cf. Vermes, "The Impact," 13. Smith supports Vermes' position. In his opinion, "it is most likely that the name Phanuel is to be derived from the place name Peniel/Penuel (the face of God) in Genesis 32:30, and therefore may be related to the title 'a man seeing God.'" Smith, "Prayer of Joseph," 709. See also S. Olyan, who argues that "the angel Penuel was either derived from texts such Exod. 13:14–15 and Deut. 4:37, where the divine presence is given figurative treatment, or it emerged from the exegesis of Gen. 32:25–33." Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands*, 108–9.

who comes to the patriarch to inform him about his new angelic name and status.

This reference to Sariel/Uriel as the angel who instructs/wrestles with Jacob and announces to him his new angelic name is documented in several other sources, including *Targum Neofiti* and *Prayer of Joseph*. In *Prayer of Joseph*, Jacob attests that "Uriel, the angel of God, came forth and said that 'I [Jacob-Israel] had descended to earth and I had tabernacled among men and that I had been called by the name of Jacob'. He envied me and fought with me and wrestled with me...."[233]

In targumic and rabbinic accounts, Sariel/Uriel is also depicted as the angel who wrestled with Jacob and announced him his new angelic name.

Targum Neofiti to Gen. 32.25–31 reads:

> And Jacob was left alone; and the angel Sariel (שריאל) wrestled with him in the appearance of a man and he embraced him until the time the dawn arose. When he saw that he could not prevail against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh and the hollow of Jacob's thigh became benumbed in his wrestling with him. And he said: "Let me go because the rise of the dawn has arrived, and because the time of the angels on high to praise has arrived, and I am a chief of those who praise" (ואנא ריש למשבחיא). And he said: "I will not let you go unless you bless me." And he said to him: "What is your name?" And he said: "Jacob." And he said: "Your name shall no longer be called Jacob but Israel, because you have claimed superiority with angels from before the Lord and with men and you have prevailed against them. And Jacob asked and said: "Tell me your name I pray"; and he said: "Why, now, do you ask my name?" And he blessed him there. And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel (פניאל) because: "I have seen angels from before the Lord face to face and my life has been spared."[234]

Scholars have previously noted that "in the circles represented by the Similitudes of Enoch, Qumran and Neofiti variety of the Palestinian Targum, the angelic adversary of Jacob was recognized as one of the four celestial princes and called alternatively Sariel or Phanuel."[235] It appears that *Ladder* also belongs to the same circles. In *Targ. Neof.* and *Frag. Targ.*[236]

---

[233] Smith, "Prayer of Joseph," 713.

[234] *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis*, 158; Díez Macho, A. *Neophyti 1, Targum Palistinense Ms de la Biblioteca Vaticana*, vol. 1, 217–19. Textos y Estudios, 7. Madrid/Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1968. 6 vols.

[235] Vermes, "The Impact," 13; Smith, "Prayer of Joseph," 709.

[236] Klein, *The Fragment-Targums*, vol. 1, 59, and vol. 2, 22.

to Gen 32:27, Sariel is defined as "the chief of those who give praise" (ריש למשבחיא). The *Ladder* seems to allude to this title. In the *Ladder* 3:2 Sariel is described as "*stareishino uslazhdaemych*"[237] which can be translated as "the chief of those who give joy."[238]

It is of interest to note that in the *Ladder*, Sariel/Phanuel imagery seems to be influenced by the Enochic tradition even more extensively than in the Targums; in the *Ladder*, the motif of wrestling is completely absent and is replaced by the depiction of Sariel as the interpreter of dreams. It seems that Sariel/Uriel in the *Ladder* assumes the traditional "Enochic" functions of *angelus interpres*.[239]

PRINCES OF THE FACE

In the *Ladder* and the *Prayer of Joseph*, Jacob's identification with his heavenly counterpart, the angel Israel, involves the initiatory encounter with the angel Sariel/Uriel, who in other texts is also known as Phanuel, the angel of the divine Presence or the Face. The same state of events is observable in Enochic materials where Uriel serves as a principal heavenly guide to another prominent visionary who has also acquired knowledge about his own heavenly counterpart, namely, Enoch/Metatron. In both traditions, Uriel/Sariel/Phanuel appears as the guide who assists the visionaries in acquiring or identifying with their new celestial identities. The process of establishing twinship with the heavenly counterpart might be reflected in the initiatory procedure of becoming a *Sar ha-Panim*, one of the angelic[240] Princes of the divine Face or Presence, the prominent celestial office, which is often described in detail in various apocalyptic and Merkabah accounts. The installation of a visionary as *Sar ha-Panim* seems to correlate with the

---

[237] Slav. **Старѣишино оуслаждаемъıхъ.** MSS *S, R, F.* Cf. *Толковая палея 1477 года*, 101b; Кушелев-Безбородко, *Памятники*, vol. 3, 28; Франко, *Апокріфи*, vol. 1, 110.

[238] Slavonic **оуслаждаемъıхъ** (*uslazhdaemych*) can be literally translated as "sweetened." Cf. Цейтлин, Р. М. [Cejtlin, R. M.], ed. *Старославянский словарь по рукописям X–XI веков* [*Old-Slavonic Dictionary according to the Manuscripts of X–XI Centuries*], 477. Moscow: Russkij jazyk, 1994; Срезневский, И. И. *Словарь древнерусского языка* [Sresnevskij, I. I. *The Dictionary of the Old Russian Language*], vol. 3, 1266. Moscow: Kniga, 1989. 3 vols.

[239] On Uriel as an *angelus interpres,* see Gieschen, C. A. *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence*, 60. AGJU, 42. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

[240] For a complete discussion about angels as the heavenly counterparts of humans, see De Conick, *Seek to See Him*, 148–57.

procedure of identifying a visionary with his heavenly counterpart. [241] In *1 Enoch* 71, Enoch is transformed and identified with the Son of Man in front of God's Throne. In *2 En.* 22:6–10, Enoch's initiation into one of the Princes of Presence[242] also takes place in front of the fiery Face of the Lord. This encounter transforms Enoch into a glorious being. It is important to note that after this procedure Enoch observes that he had *become like one of the glorious ones*, and *there was no observable difference.*[243] The last phrase describes Enoch's transition to his new identity as "one of the glorious ones." This identity might refer to his angelic counterpart. It also indicates that Enoch's earthly appearance/face has been radically altered and that the visionary has now acquired a new "face" which "mirrors" or "doubles" the Face of the Lord.[244] The motif of engraving the image of the visionary on the Throne might also serve as a metaphor for the similarity between the visionary's face and the Face. There is no doubt that one of the features which unifies both "faces" is their luminosity.

2 Enoch's narrative gives evidence that Enoch's face acquired the same qualities of luminosity as the Face of the Lord. In *2 Enoch* 37, the Lord calls one of his angels to chill the face of Enoch before his return to earth. The angel, who "appeared frigid," then chilled Enoch's face with his icy hands. Immediately after this procedure, the Lord tells Enoch that if his face had not been chilled in such a way, no human being would be able to look

---

[241] The reference to the angels of the Presence as the heavenly counterparts of humans is not confined solely to the Jewish pseudepigrapha. April De Conick's research refers to several important Christian passages in which angels of the Presence/the Face serve as heavenly counterparts of humans; see De Conick, *Seek to See Him*, 153–4. One of such traditions is reflected in Mt.18:10: "See that you do not despise one of these little ones; for I tell you that in heaven their angels always behold the face of my Father who is in heaven."

[242] On Enoch's role as the Prince of the Presence in *2 Enoch*, see Orlov, "Titles of Enoch-Metatron," 74–5.

[243] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 139.

[244] A visionary, therefore, becomes a reflection or even a "representation" of the Face/*Kavod*, a sort of its vice-regent. Christopher Morray-Jones observes that "there is evidence, then, of the early existence of a tradition concerning the ascent to heaven of an exceptionally righteous man who beholds the vision of the divine *Kabod* upon Merkabah, is transformed into an angelic being and enthroned as celestial vice-regent, thereby becoming identified with the Name-bearing angel who either is or is closely associated with the *Kabod* itself and functions as a second, intermediary power in heaven." Morray-Jones, C. R. A. "Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition." *JJS* 43 (1992): 10–11.

at his face. This chilling procedure indicates that Enoch's metamorphosis near the Face into the *Sar ha-Panim* involves the transformation of the visionary's face into the fiery, perilous entity which now resembles *Kavod*. We can find a detailed description of this process in another "Enochic" text, *Sefer Hekhalot*, which describes the transformation of Enoch/Metatron, the Prince of the divine Presence, into the fiery creature:

> R. Ishmael said: The angel Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence, the glory of highest heaven, said to me: When the Holy One, blessed be he, took me to serve the throne of glory, the wheels of the chariot and all needs of the Shekinah, at once my flesh turned to flame, my sinews to blazing fire, my bones to juniper coals, my eyelashes to lightning flashes, my eyeballs to fiery torches, the hairs of my head to hot flames, all my limbs to wings of burning fire, and the substance of my body to blazing fire.[245]

It is possible that the reference to the heavenly counterpart of Jacob in the form of his image (engraved) on the Throne of Glory also implies that Jacob is one of the servants of the divine Face. This possibility is already hinted at in the biblical account where Jacob is attested as one who saw God face to face.[246] Moreover, in some of Jacob's traditions, he is directly described (in a manner similar to Enoch/Metatron) as the Prince of the divine Face. We learn about this title from the *Prayer of Joseph* 8,[247] where Jacob-Israel himself unveils his status as the *Sar*[248] *ha-Panim*,[249] proclaiming that he is "the first minister before the Face of God."

It is also not coincidental that the initiation of Jacob into an angelic being involves another servant of the Face, the angel Sariel whose last name, Phanuel,[250] reflects his close proximity to the Face of God. As has

---

[245] *3 En.* 15:1. Alexander, "3 Enoch," 267.

[246] Gen. 32:30 "...it is because I saw God face to face (פנים אל־ פנים)."

[247] The tradition about Jacob as the *Prince* of Presence seems to be also reflected in *Targ. Onq.* to Gen. 32:29: "Whereupon, he said, 'No longer shall your name be called Jacob, but rather Israel; for your are a *prince* before the Lord and among men; therefore have you prevailed.'" *The Targum Onqelos to Genesis*, 116.

[248] Vermes notices that *Targum Neofiti* explains the etymology of Israel from שרר ("to rule, to act as a prince"). Vermes, "The Impact," 13.

[249] Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*, 141–2.

[250] The fact that Sariel/Uriel/Phanuel is known under several names might indicate that this angel also serves as a heavenly counterpart in the manner similar to other servants of the Face such as Jacob-Israel, Enoch/Metatron, and possibly Melchizedek/Michael. On the identification of Michael with Melchizedek, see

been mentioned previously, this initiatory pattern is already observable in the Enochic tradition, where Sariel/Uriel/Phanuel (along with another angel of the Presence, Michael[251]) actively participates in the initiation of the another prominent servant of the divine Face, Enoch/Metatron.

However, Jacob's identification with a *Sar ha-Panim* seems to be missing one detail that constitutes a distinct feature of the descriptions of visionaries initiated in this office, that is the luminous metamorphosis of an adept's face and body. The *Ladder of Jacob* and *Prayer of Joseph*, as well as the biblical account of Jacob's vision, are silent about any transformation of Jacob's body and his face. This tradition, however, can be found in another prominent account connected with the Jacob story.[252] In this important material, the eyes of Jacob, similar to the eyes of the transformed Metatron, are emitting flashes of lighting.

CONCLUSION

Finally, it is necessary to address the question why some theophanic traditions depict angelic beings as both the servants of the Face and the Face itself. Later Merkabah accounts categorize Metatron as the Face of God.[253] The reference to Uriel/Sariel, who is also known as Phanuel ("the Face of God"), can serve as another example. This ambiguity in the theophanic tradition is also apparent in the Slavonic *Ladder of Jacob*, where the fiery

---

Davila, J. R. "Melchizedek, Michael, and War in Heaven." *SBLSP* 35 (1996): 259–72; Hannah, D. D. *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity*, 70–4. WUNT, 2/109. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1999.

[251] Olyan refers to Rashi's passage which identifies "the 'angel of his presence' of Isa. 63:9 with Michael, the Prince of Presence." Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands*, 108.

[252] The beginning of the second half of *Joseph and Aseneth* gives a description of Joseph and Aseneth visiting Jacob. *Jos. and Asen.* 22:7–8 says that when Aseneth saw Jacob, she "was amazed at his beauty... his eyes (were) flashing and darting (flashes of) lighting, and his sinews and his shoulders and his arms were like (those) of an angel, and his thighs and his calves and his feet like (those) of a giant. And Jacob was like a man who had wrestled with God. And Aseneth saw him and was amazed, and prostrated herself before him face down to the ground." Burchard, C. "Joseph and Aseneth." In *OTP*, vol. 2, 177–247, at 238.

[253] For the identification of Metatron with the Face, see De Conick, "Heavenly Temple Traditions," 329; Halperin, D. J. *The Faces of the Chariot*, 424–5. TSAJ, 16. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1988. Morray-Jones notes that in the Merkabah texts Metatron "in some sense embodies, the *Kabod*." Morray-Jones, "Transformational Mysticism," 9.

Face can be taken as either God's *Kavod* or an enthroned vice-regent associated with the Face (i.e. the enthroned Jacob-Israel). The difficulty in discerning between these two luminous entities can be illustrated through a reference to a late "Enochic" passage (*3 En.)*, describing the enthronement of Metatron at the door of the seventh palace. From this account we learn that when one infamous visionary encountered the enthroned Metatron, he took it as something equal to the Chariot. Then, according to the story, the visionary opened his mouth and uttered: "There are indeed two powers[254] in heaven!"[255] Besides other things, this account might serve as:

1. an additional evidence that some heavenly counterparts are indeed "mirrors" of the Face;
2. an important lesson about the evasive nature of the celestial "faces";

and

3. a warning about the possible perils for those who try to explain what these "faces" might really represent.

---

[254] On "two powers in heaven," see Alan Segal's pioneering research in his *Two Powers in Heaven.*

[255] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 268.

"Many Lamps are Lightened from the One": Paradigms of the Transformational Vision in the Macarian Homilies

Among mystical testimonies circulating in the Eastern Christian tradition, two portentous descriptions of transformational visions can be found. The first account is drawn from *2 Enoch*, a Jewish apocalypse, apparently written in the first century CE and preserved in the Eastern Christian environment in its Slavonic translation. In this text the prediluvian patriarch Enoch describes his luminous metamorphosis near the Throne of Glory:

> And Michael, the Lord's greatest archangel, lifted me up and brought me in front of the face of the Lord ... And Michael extracted me from my clothes. He anointed me with the delightful oil; and the appearance of that oil is greater than the greatest light, its ointment is like sweet dew, and its fragrance like myrrh; and its shining is like the sun. And I gazed at all of myself, and I had become like one of the glorious ones, and there was no observable difference.[256]

The second account is written a thousand years later and comes from *Philokalia*, a collection of Eastern Christian writings compiled by Nicodemus Hagioretes, in which Pseudo-Symeon conveys preparatory instructions for acquiring the vision of the Taboric light:

> Then sit down in a quite cell, in a corner by yourself, and do what I tell you. Close the door, and withdraw your intellect from everything worthless and transient. Rest your beard on your chest, and focus your physical gaze, together with the whole of your intellect, upon the centre of your belly or your navel. Restrain the drawing-in of breath through your nostrils, so as not to breathe easily, and search inside yourself with your

[256] *2 Enoch* 22:6–10. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 139.

> intellect so as to find the place of the heart, where all the powers of the soul reside. To start with, you will find there darkness and an impenetrable density. Later, when you persist and practice this task day and night, you will find, as though miraculously, an unceasing joy. For as soon as the intellect attains the place of the heart, at once it sees things of which it previously knew nothing. It sees the open space within the heart and it beholds itself entirely luminous and full of discrimination.[257]

It is apparent that these two descriptions belong to very different symbolic worlds. In the first one, an adept, on his celestial trip, finds himself before the glorious appearance of the Lord, accompanied by the angels who extract the visitor from his earthly garments and anoint him with delightful oil. In the second one, he is led through darkness and "an impenetrable density" on the inner journey to the depth of his heart. The majesty of the celestial environment strikingly confronts the monotonous quietness of the inner contemplation. Still, something similar is recognizable in these two accounts. In both descriptions the visionaries eventually come to the same result — they behold themselves luminescent.

Both accounts also stress the totality of this metamorphosis — mystical adepts of these visions become "entirely" luminous. It is, however, observable that in the two accounts the source of the divine light is different. In the first account, it comes from outside, namely from the glorious appearance of the Lord, depicted symbolically as the angelic anointing with shining oil. The shining oil, the "covering" substance of the transformation, serves as an additional detail which stresses the outer nature of the visionary's luminous metamorphosis.

The important feature of the second account which differentiates it from the first is the "inner" nature of the luminous metamorphosis — the illumination comes from inside, from the darkness of the soul, proceeding from the open space within the heart of the visionary.

Separated by a millennium, these two accounts serve as significant markers of the long-lasting theological journey from the outer transformational vision to its inner counterpart. On this journey the towering figure of the Syrian father, known to us as Pseudo-Macarius, remains prominent. The purpose of this article is to explore some of his concepts which in our opinion play a formative role in the transition from outer to inner in the transformational visions of Eastern Christian tradition.

---

[257] Pseudo-Simeon, "The Three Methods of Prayer." In *The Philokalia*, vol. 4, 72–3. Tr. by G. E. H. Palmer, P. Sherrard and K. Ware. London: Faber and Faber, 1995. 5 vols.

The Background: Transformational Vision of the *Kavod*

In order to clarify the differences between the two transformational visions mentioned earlier, we must return now to the initial theological contexts which lie behind these two accounts.

The origin of the *Kavod* paradigm, which is formative for the vision in the Slavonic apocalypse, can be traced to Old Testament materials where one can find various polemics for and against the anthropomorphic understanding of God.[258] Weinfeld observes that the imagery of the enthroned divine glory known to us as the Lord's *Kavod* was "crystallized" in the Priestly and Ezekielian traditions.[259]

Theological developments of the Priestly tradition demonstrate that the anthropomorphism of the Priestly source is intimately connected with the place of divine habitation.[260] In this tradition, "in which the Divinity is personalized and depicted in the most tangible corporeal similitudes," God, who possesses a human form, has a need for a house or tabernacle. [261]

Weinfeld rightly observes that this anthropomorphic position was not entirely an invention of the Priestly source[262] but derived from early sacral conceptions.[263] In these traditions the Deity was sitting in his house en-

---

[258] On the issue of Old Testament's anthropomorphism see: Barr, J. "Theophany and Anthropomorphism in the Old Testament," *VT Suppl.* 7 (1960): 31–8; Hempel, J. "Die Grenzen des Anthropomorphismus Jahwes im Alten Testament," *ZAW* 57 (1939): 75–85; Michaeli, F. *Dieu à l'image de l'homme: Étude de la notion anthropomorphique de Dieu dans l'Ancient Testament.* Neuchâtel: Delachaux, 1950; Eichrodt, W. *Theology of the Old Testament*, vol. 1, 210–20. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961. 2 vols.; Korpel, M. C. A. *A Rift in the Clouds. Ugaritic and Hebrew Descriptions of the Divine*, 87–590. UBL, 8. Münster: UGARIT-Verlag, 1990; Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 191–209. On later Jewish anthropomorphism see: Fishbane, M. "The 'Measures' of God's Glory in the Ancient Midrash." In Gruenwald, I., et al., eds. *Messiah and Christos: Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity. Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, 53–74. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992; Marmorstein, A. *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God: Essays in Anthropomorphism.* New York: KTAV, 1937.

[259] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 191.

[260] Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*, 24.

[261] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 191.

[262] For the roots of the theology of the priestly tabernacle see: Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*, 81–3.

[263] Weinfeld shows that "the notion of God sitting enthroned upon the cherubim was prevalent in ancient Israel (1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2; Ps 80:2; 2 Kgs 19:15)." Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 192.

sconced between the two cherubim, and at his feet rests the ark,[264] his footstool.[265]

This motif of the enthroned Deity becomes a central image in the book of Ezekiel, whose *Kavod*[266] theology is similar[267] to the Priestly doctrine.[268] Mettinger observes that "in Ezekiel, the *Kavod*-conception proved to represent an earlier phase than that discovered in the P-materials."[269] He further stresses that the iconography of Ezekiel is closely connected with the idea of God's royal presence in his sanctuary.[270] This connection of the *Kevod YHWH* with the enthroned God can scarcely be divorced from its previously established usage in early royal contexts.[271]

---

[264] Mettinger stresses that "the most important aspect of the Ark in Solomon's Temple was that it served as the footstool of God." Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*, 87.

[265] Haran, M. "The Ark and the Cherubim." *IEJ* 9 (1959): 30–8.

[266] The term *Kavod* (Heb. כבוד) occurs 199 times in the Old Testament (24 occurences in the Pentateuch, 7 in the Deuteronomistic history, 18 in the Chronicler's history, 38 in Isaiah, 19 in Ezekiel, occasionaly in Jeremiah and the Minor Prophets, 51 occurences in the Psalms and 16 in Proverbs). The term כבוד can be translated as "substance," "body," "mass," "power," "might," "honor," "glory," "splendor." In its meaning as "glory" *Kavod* usually refers to God, his sanctuary, his city, or sacred paraphernalia. The Priestly tradition uses the term in connection with God's appearences in the tabernacle. P and Ezekiel describe *Kavod* as a blazing fire surrounded by radiance and a great cloud. Weinfeld, M. "כבוד," *TDOT*, vol. 7, 22–38.

[267] It is also noteworthy that Ezekiel and the materials of the Priestly tradition, such as Gen 5:1, share similar terminology, namely the term דמות. The term דמות appears 12 times in the Book of Ezekiel where it becomes a favorite terminology for the description of various divine and angelic "appearances." It occupies a prominent place in Biblical anthropomorphic debates. Both terms כבוד and דמות are intimately connected through the notion of "hiddeness" of the divine form/glory. Later Jewish *Shi'ur Qomah* traditions stress the aspect of the hiddeness of דמות: "His דמות is hidden from everyone, but no one's דמות is hidden from Him." Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy*, 113. For a fuller discussion see De Conick, *Seek to See Him*, 102–4.

[268] On the connections between P and Ezekiel see Stein, B. *Der Begriff "Kebod Jahweh"*, 299. Emsdetten; Lechte, 1939. See also Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*, 107–11.

[269] Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*, 116–7.

[270] Ibid., 117.

[271] Ibid.

Weinfeld notes that Ezekiel's persistent tendency to describe God's *Kavod* as a brilliant and radiant fire encased in a cloud is also a distinct characteristic of the Priestly writings.[272] He argues that in the Priestly and Ezekielian writings the fire and cloud are inseparable elements of the apparition of God's Glory, where the cloud is the divine envelope which screens the Deity from mortal view.[273] In later Jewish and Christian traditions the radiant luminosity emitted by various celestial beings fulfills the same function, protecting against the direct vision of their true forms. In the Hebrew Bible, as well as in later apocalyptic traditions, God's "form" remains hidden behind His light. The hidden *Kavod* is revealed through its light. This situation explains the wide use of the *Kavod* paradigm in the visions of light phenomena. *Kavod* theology leads to the special type of transformational visions that can be found in various biblical and apocalyptic materials.[274] In the climactic points of these accounts, their visionaries normally "see" the extent of the divine glory, often portrayed as enthroned anthropomorphic figure. As a consequence of this encounter, the visionary experiences a dramatic external metamorphosis which often affects his face, limbs, and garments, making them luminescent. A classic example of such a transformational vision is the account of Moses' shining countenance in Ex 34 after his encounter with the Lord's *Kavod* on Mount Sinai. It is noteworthy that in the apocalyptic and Merkabah traditions the vision of the Lord's Glory ("the King in His beauty") increasingly become the main teleological point of the heavenly ascents.

Enoch's transformation in the Slavonic apocalypse also belongs to the *Kavod* paradigm. Enoch's luminous metamorphosis took place in the front of the Lord's glorious "extent," labeled in *2 Enoch* as the Lord's "Face."[275]

---

[272] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 201.

[273] Ibid., 202.

[274] Quispel, G. "Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis." *VC* 34 (1980): 1–13.

[275] "I saw the view of the face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot in a fire and brought out, and it emits sparks and is incandescent. Thus even I saw the face of the Lord. But the face of the Lord is not to be talked about, it is so very marvelous and supremely awesome and supremely frightening. And who am I to give an account of the incomprehensible being of the Lord, and of his face, so extremely strange and indescribable? And how many are his commands, and his multiple voice, and the Lord's throne, supremely great and not made by hands, and the choir stalls all around him, the cherubim and the seraphim armies, and their never-silent singing. Who can give an account of his beautiful appearance, never

From this Enochic account we learn that the vision of the divine "Face" had dramatic consequences for Enoch's appearance. His body endures radical changes as it becomes covered with the divine light. A significant detail in this description is that Enoch is not transformed into light but covered, "clothed," with the light of God's Glory. The use of delightful oil as a covering substance emphasizes this "covering nature" of the luminous metamorphosis.

In Enoch's radiant metamorphosis before the divine Face an important detail can be found which links Enoch's transformation with that of Moses' account in Exodus. In *2 Enoch* 37 we learn about the unusual procedure performed on Enoch's face in the final stage of his encounter with the Lord. The text informs that the Lord called one of his senior angels to chill the face of Enoch. The text says that the angel appeared frigid; he was as white as snow, and his hands were as cold as ice. The text further depicts the angel chilling Enoch's face, who could not endure the terror of the Lord, "just as it is not possible to endure the fire of a stove and the heat of the sun...."[276] Right after this "chilling procedure," the Lord informs Enoch that if his face had not been chilled here, no human being would have been able to look at his face.[277] This reference to the radiance of Enoch's face after his encounter with the Lord is an apparent parallel to the incandescent face of Moses after the Sinai experience in Ex 34.

In spite of the dominant role of the *Kavod* pattern in biblical and apocalyptic theophanic accounts, it becomes increasingly challenged in the postbiblical rabbinic[278] and patristic environments which offered new un-

---

changing and indescribable, and his great glory? And I fell down flat and did obeisance to the Lord" (*2 Enoch* 22:1–4, the longer recension). Andersen, "2 Enoch," 136.

[276] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 160.

[277] Ibid.

[278] It becomes especially notable in Hekhalot mysticism, where the teleology of the mystical journeys came to be expressed in terms of descent into the Merkabah. On Merkabah and Hekhalot mysticism, see: Alexander, P. "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch." *JJS* 28 (1977): 156–80; Blumenthal, D. *Understanding Jewish Mysticism: A Source Reader.* 2 vols. New York: KTAV, 1978; Chernus, I. *Mysticism in Rabbinic Judaism.* SJ, 11. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1982; Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy*; Greenfield, "Prolegomenon," xi–xlvii; Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*; Gruenwald, I., and M. Smith. *The Hekhalot Literature in English.* Chico, CA: Scholars, 1983; Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*; idem, *The Merkavah in Rabbinic Literature.* New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1980; Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," 220–40; Jacobs, L. *Jewish Mystical Testimo-*

derstandings of the transformational vision. In these new developments, one can see a growing emphasis on the interiorization of the visionary experience.[279] Among the new notions employed for the purposes of such a paradigm shift was the prominent biblical concept of the image of God after which Adam was created.

In the Likeness of God's Image

In his book *Makarius, Das Thomasevangelium und das Lied von der Perle*[280] Gilles Quispel draws the reader's attention to an interesting tradition preserved in Homily II.12[281] of Pseudo-Macarius. From the homily we learn that "Adam,

---

nies. New York: Schocken Books, 1977; Janowitz, N. *The Poetics of Ascent: Theories of Language in a Rabbinic Ascent Text.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989; Morgan, M. *Sepher ha-Razim: The Book of Mysteries.* TTPS, 11. Chico, CA: Scholars, 1983; Morray-Jones, C. "Hekhalot Literature and Talmudic Tradition; Alexander's Three Test Cases." *JJS* 22 (1991): 1–39; Newsom, C. *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition.* HSS, 27. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985; Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God*; Schäfer et al., *Übersetzung*; Scholem, G. *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic tradition.* New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965; idem, *Major Trends*; Séd, N. "Les traditions secrètes et les disciples de Rabban Yohannan ben Zakkai." *RHR* 184 (1973): 49–66; Swartz, M. *Mystical Prayer in Ancient Judaism: An Analysis of Maaseh Merkavah.* TSAJ, 28. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992.

[279] On the issue of the interiorization of transformational visions see: Golitzin, A. "Liturgy and Mysticism: The Experience of God in Eastern Orthodox Christianity." *Pro Ecclesia* 2 (1999): 159–86; Ieromonah Alexander (Golitzin), "Forma lui Dumnezeu şi Vederea Slavei. Reflecţii Asupra Controversei Antropomorfite Din Anul 399 D. Hr." In Idem, *Mistagogia. Experienţa lui Dumnezeu în Ortodoxie*, 184–267. Sibiu: Deisis, 1998; Séd, N. "La shekinta et ses amis araméens." *Cahiers d'Orientalisme* 20 (1988): 133–42.

[280] Quispel, G. *Makarius, Das Thomasevangelium und das Lied von der Perle*, 57–8. SNT, 15. Leiden: Brill, 1967.

[281] There are four Byzantine medieval collections of Macarian Homilies. Three of them appeared in critical editions. Collection I was published in Bertold, H., ed. *Makarios/Simeon: Reden und Briefe. Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694 (B).* 2 vols. GCS. Berlin: Academie-Verlag, 1973. Collection II appeared in: Dörries, H., E. Klostermann, and M. Kroeger. *Die 50 Geistlichen Homilien des Makarios.* PTS, 4. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1964. Collection III appeared in Klostermann, E., and H. Berthold, eds. *Neue Homilien des Makarios/Simeon aus Typus III.* TU, 72. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961, and Desprez, V., ed. *Pseudo-Macaire. Oeuvres spirituelles.* Vol. I: *Homélies propres à la Collection III.* SC, 275. Paris: Cerf, 1980. In our references to the Macarian homilies the first uppercase Roman numeral will designate the Collec-

when he transgressed the commandment, lost two things. First, he lost the pure possession of his nature, so lovely, created according to the image and likeness of God (κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ). Second, he lost the very image itself (αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκόνα) in which was laid up for him, according to God's promise, the full heavenly inheritance"(II.12.1).[282]

Further, another important passage in the homily informs the reader that Adam and Eve before the Fall were clothed (ἐνδεδυμένοι) with God's glory in place of clothing (II.12.8).[283] The text reveals a certain continuity between Adam's "very image itself" and his glorious clothing. An important detail in the narrative is that the homilist makes a distinction between Adam's nature, created according to the image and likeness of God[284] and Adam's "very image (εἰκόνα) itself," speaking about them as of two separate entities which were lost during the Fall. This subtle theological distinction shows the author's familiarity with the Jewish aggadic traditions about *tselem* (Heb. צלם) of Adam — the luminous image of God's glory according to which Adam was created.[285]

---

tion, following Arabic numerals will designate the specific homily and its subsections.

[282] Pseudo-Macarius, *The Fifty Spiritual Homilies and the Great Letter*, 97. Tr. by G. A. Maloney, S. J. New York: Paulist Press, 1992. Dörries et al., *Die 50 Geistlichen Homilien*, 107–8.

[283] Pseudo-Macarius, *The Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 100.

[284] It is important that Genesis 1:26 stresses that Adam's צלם was created after God's own צלם, being some sort of luminous "imitation" of the glorious צלם of God. Some scholars even argue that "in this way, the likeness that Adam and God shared is not physicality — in the normal sense of having a body — but luminescence." Aaron, D. H. "Shedding Light on God's Body in Rabbinic Midrashim: Reflections on the Theory of a Luminous Adam." *HTR* 90 (1997): 303.

[285] For discussions about the luminous garment/image/body of Adam see: Aaron, "Shedding Light," 299–314; Brock, S. "Clothing Metaphors as a Means of Theological Expression in Syriac Tradition." In *Typus, Symbol, Allegorie bei den östlichen Vätern und ihren Parallelen im Mittelalter*, 11–40. Eichstätter Beiträge, 4. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1982; De Conick, A. D., and J. Fossum, "Stripped before God: A New Interpretation of Logion 37 in the Gospel of Thomas." *VC* 45 (1991): 141; Ginzberg, L. *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. 5, 97. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955. 7 vols.; Goshen Gottstein, A. "The Body as Image of God in Rabbinic Literature." *HTR* 87 (1994): 171–95; Murmelstein, B. "Adam, ein Beitrag zur Messiaslehre." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 35 (1928): 255; Staerk, W. *Die Erlösererwartung in den östlichen Religionen*, 11. Stuttgart and Berlin, 1938.

The term "image" (Gk. εἰκών) can be found in a number of significant New Testament passages. The most important of them for the purposes of the current investigation is the Pauline description of Christ as the "image of the invisible God" in Col 1:15, which has often been compared to the account of the creation of Adam and seen as part of Paul's Adam Christology.[286] This theological connection between Adam's creation after the image of God and Christ as the image of God has opened several possibilities for using ancient aggadic traditions about the luminous *tselem* of Adam in new Christian theophanic contexts. In Pauline writings we can also see peculiar terminological parallels in which the notion of image (εἰκών) becomes closely associated with important theophanic concepts, prominent in traditional *Kavod* theology, such as glory[287] (δόξα)[288] and form (μορφή). [289]

Other important theological developments in Gnostic[290] and rabbinic circles lead to a gradual "interiorization" of the *tselem* imagery. In postbib-

---

[286] Fossum, *The Image*, 15. Cf. also: Schlatter, A. *Die Theologie der Apostel*, 299. Stuttgart: Calwer, 1922; Black, M. "The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam." *SJT* 7 (1954): 174–9; Scroggs, R. *The Last Adam*, 97–9. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966.

[287] See for example 2 Cor 4:4: "... the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God..."

[288] H. A. W. Meyer, J. Weiss and J. Behm understand Paul's concept of μορφή as the divine Glory (δόξα), believing that "in Pauline sense, Christ was from the beginning no other than כבוד, δόξα of God himself, the glory and radiation of his being, which appears almost as an independent hypostasis of God and yet is connected intimately with God." See Martin, R. P. *Carmen Christi. Philippians 2.5–11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship*, 104–5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967. One of the major exponents of the hypothesis, J. Behm, in Kittel's *TDNT*, argues that the statement in Phillipians 2:6 about the form of God corresponds closely with the statement in John 17:5 about the glory which "I had with Thee before the world was." *TDNT*, vol. 4, 751.

[289] Biblical scholars argue that μορφή and εἰκών are used as interchangeable terms in the LXX and in Paul. For example, an investigation of the Old Testament's connection between terms צלם and דמות in the light of their translation in the LXX as μορφή lead scholars to believe that "μορφή in Philippians 2:6 is immediately related to the concept εἰκών, since the Semitic root word צלם can correspond to either of the two Greek words." Martin, *Carmen Christi*, 108. For the discussion of the body/image of Christ in Pauline thought see Fossum, *The Image*.

[290] J. Fossum observes that in some Gnostic circles "'the shining,' 'image,' or 'likeness' of God, after which the body of the earthly man was fashioned appears as a separate entity, even some form of hypostasis." Fossum, *The Image*, 16.

lical Jewish accounts, *tselem* is often identified with the luminous "clothing" of the human heart. Scholem's research shows that in Jewish mysticism *tselem* was also understood as a sort of "garment" of the soul, which "floats" over it. He observes that "this garment also becomes the soul's heavenly attire when it returns to Paradise after death."[291] This Jewish idea of the "inner" luminous *tselem* might well be already known in Christian circles, particularly in the Syriac environment.

It is also possible that Ephraem, Macarius, and some other Syrian Christian writers might have acquired the notion of the luminous human *tselem* through their familiarity with the Targums, the Aramaic renderings of the Hebrew Bible, which attest to traditions about the original luminosity of Adam and Eve.[292]

It is noticeable that in the Macarian homilies and other Eastern Christian writings the notion of luminous *tselem* became gradually employed for the purposes of the internalized beatific vision. *Tselem* became utilized as a sort of theological counterpart to the classic concept of the divine *Kavod* which traditionally played a prominent role in biblical and apocalyptic visions. Sometimes both imageries were used interchangeably.

In the patristic environment the concept of the image of God gradually became a "safer" way to convey visionary experiences of the light phenomena, especially after the anthropomorphite controversy of 399 CE,[293] when antianthropomorpic polemics[294] made it increasingly difficult to employ the traditional "anthropomorphic" language of beatific visions,

---

[291] Scholem, G. *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead*, 264. New York: Schocken, 1976.

[292] Cf. Brock, "Clothing Metaphors," 11–40.

[293] On the anthropomorphite controversy see: Clark, E. A. *The Origenist Controversy: The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992; Gould, G. "The Image of God and the Anthropomorphite Controversy in Fourth Century Monasticism." In Daly, R. J., ed. *Origeniana Quinta*, 549–57. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, CV. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992.

[294] On antianthropomorphic polemics see Clark, E. A. "New Perspectives on the Origenist Controversy: Human Embodiment and Ascetic Strategies." *Church History* 59 (1990): 145–62; Hennessey, L. "A Philosophical Issue of Origen's Eschatology: The Three Senses of Incorporeality." In Daly, *Origeniana Quinta*, 373–80; McGuckin, J. A. "The Changing Forms of Jesus." In Lies, L., ed. *Origeniana Quarta*, 215–22. Innsbrucker Theologische Studien, Bd. 19. Innsbruck/Wien: Tyrola-Verlag, 1987; Paulsen, D. L. "Early Christian Belief in a Corporeal Deity: Origen and Augustine as Reluctant Witnesses." *HTR* 83:2 (1990): 105–16; Stroumsa, G. "The

including the classical *Kavod* imagery.[295] By the fourth century in patristic trinitarian debates about the divine light the *Kavod* terminology was almost completely substituted by the symbolism of the divine image.

A thousand years later, in Hesychast transformational visions of the Taboric light, the concept of the image of God still continued to play a crucial theological role. It is especially noticeable in Gregory Palamas'

Incorporeality of God: Context and Implications of Origen's Position." *Religion* (1983): 345–58.

[295] Similar antropomorphic developments are also noticiable in postbiblical Jewish mysticism, with its gradual elaboration of the צלם concept. In Jewish tradition צלם played an important role in anthropomorphic developments. It was understood not simply as an abstract likeness but had a strong "corporeal meaning." See Goshen Gottstein, "The Body," 174. See also: Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape*, 251–73. Gottstein's research deals with a number of rabbinic texts that reveal this "corporeal" understanding of צלם. He argues that in some instances it is interchangeable with other Hebrew terms for the designation of "body," like the term דמות. Speaking about these corporeal meanings of צלם Gottstein notes that "... Adam's *tselem* is his luminous body. In other sources, such as the story of Hillel washing his body [*Lev. R.* 34.3], the *tselem* referred to the physical body. *Tselem* can be thus refer to various levels, or aspects, all of which bear a resemblance to the physical body. I would propose that these various levels, or various bodies, reflect one another. The physical body is a reflection of the body of light. This reflection may translate itself down to the details of circumcision. The kind of graded devolutionary process that we encountered above may be a model for two ways of talking about *tselem*. The *tselem* in its original form may be lost, but the dimmer reflection of this form is extant in the physical body, which may still be spoken of as *tselem*." Alon Goshen Gottstein, "The Body," 188. Rabbinic literature gives a number of references to traditions about the luminosity of the original *tselem* of Adam. One of them can be found in *Lev. R.* 20.2. in which "Resh Lakish, in the name of R. Simeon the son of Menasya, said: The apple of Adam's heel outshone the globe of the sun; how much more so the brightness of his face! Nor need you wonder. In the ordinary way if a person makes salvers, one for himself and one for his household, whose will he make more beautiful? Not his own? Similarly, Adam was created for the service of the Holy One, blessed be He, and the globe of the sun for the service of mankind." *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 4, 252. Another important passage which can be found in *Gen. R.* 20.12 tells us that the scroll of Rabbi Meir reads "garments of light" instead of "garments of skin," stressing thus that Adam has not lost completely his luminous quality even after the Fall: "In R. Meir's Torah it was found written, 'Garments of light': this refers to Adam's garments, which were like a torch [shedding radiance], broad at the bottom and narrow at the top." *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 1, 171.

theology of the divine image which shows amazing parallels to the concepts and imagery of Macarius. Among them is an open employment of the Adamic *Gestalt.* Palamas, following Macarius, draws heavily on ancient traditions about the luminous *tselem* of Adam. In *One Hundred and Fifty Texts*, he argues that "Adam, before the fall, also participated in this divine illumination and resplendence, and because he was truly clothed in a garment of glory he was not naked, nor was he unseemly by reason of his nakedness."[296] The Syrian background of Palamas' speculation about Adam is evident.[297] Recognizing the tragic consequences which Adam's fall had for the condition of the human *tselem,*[298] he reaffirms its irrevocable value for the inner transformational vision: "Leaving aside other matters for the present, I shall simply say that perfection of the divine likeness is accomplished by means of the divine illumination that issues from God."[299]

The theme of regaining this lost luminous image of God, "the dimmer reflection," which is still mysteriously extant in the human physical body (sometimes in the form of a luminous "clothing" of the heart) and can be eventually "restored," had a number of interesting theological ramifications in the Hesychast tradition.[300] The Hesychast idea of the light-like (φωτοειδές) sensitive nature of man[301] shows clear similarities with this early Syrian understanding of the luminous *tselem* as a reflection of God's Glory.

---

[296] *The Philokalia*, vol. 4, 377.

[297] An aggadic tradition, which survived in the Syriac environment, explains why Adam and Eve discovered their nakedness only after the Fall. According to the tradition, it happened because after their transgression they lost their original radiance — the "garments of light" which prevented them from seeing their naked "physical" bodies. Luminosity thus served for the prelapsarian humankind as a sort of screen which concealed their original form. Gregory Palamas clearly employs this tradition.

[298] "Even though we still bear God's image to a greater degree than the angels, yet as regards the likeness of God we fall far short of them." *Philokalia*, vol. 4, 376.

[299] *Philokalia*, vol. 4, 376.

[300] Cf. Romanides, J. S. "Notes on the Palamite Controversy and Related Topics." *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 6 (1960–61): 186–205 and *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 9 (1963–64): 225–70.

[301] See Romanides, "Notes" (1963–64), 235.

Internalization of the *Kavod*

It was mentioned earlier that in some biblical accounts the figure of Moses is often connected with *Kavod* theology.[302] This tendency is traceable both in the Old Testament Exodus stories and in New Testament accounts of Christ's Transfiguration where Moses serves as a significant "theophanic" reminder. In postbiblical Jewish and Christian writings the Moses *Gestalt*, however, gradually became utilized for the purposes of internalized visions. It cannot be a coincidence that in these new theological "developments," the Moses account was also linked with the *tselem* imagery.

These tendencies are noticeable in the Macarian Homilies where Moses is often portrayed as Adam's luminous counterpart. Following the already mentioned Adamic narrative of Homily II.12, which tells us how Adam lost his luminous status and "obeyed his darker side," Macarius gives us Moses' example who "had a glory shining on his countenance." The homily refers to Moses' Sinai experience, expanding this tradition and adding some new significant details:

> Indeed, the Word of God was his food and he had a glory shining on his countenance. All this, which happened to him, was a figure of something else. For that glory now shines splendidly from within the hearts of Christians. At the resurrection their bodies, as they rise, will be covered (σκεπάζεται) with another vesture, one that is divine, and they will be nourished with a heavenly food (II.12.14).[303]

It is noticeable that the passage serves as a bridge between the symbolic worlds of the *Kavod* and *tselem*. Macarius openly "internalizes" the Moses account, stressing that Moses' glory now "shines splendidly from within the hearts of Christians." On the other hand, some features of the *Kavod*'s paradigm are still noticeable: the homilist understands Moses' luminosity as a covering with God's glory.[304] The author's further discussion in II.12.15 about the clothing of Christians and wrapping them in "divine and glorious

---

[302] On Moses' connection with *Kavod* theology see: Orlov, "Ex 33 on God's Face," 130–47.

[303] Pseudo-Macarius, *The Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 102. Dörries et al. *Die 50 Geistlichen Homilien*, 114.

[304] The motif of covering with the Glory is also prominent in another Macarian passage which depicts Moses' shining countenance: "For blessed Moses provided us with a certain type through the glory of the Spirit which covered his countenance upon which no one could look with steadfast gaze (II.15.10)." Pseudo-Macarius, *The Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 74.

garments" gives additional strength to this motif of Moses, covered with the luminous garments of God's glory.

The tendencies for internalizing the *Kavod* paradigm through implications of the concept of God's image found in Macarian Homilies demonstrate amazing similarities to some Jewish developments. The late rabbinic midrashim attest to such traditions.[305] The origin of such theological innovations can be found in its rudimentary form already in some Jewish apocalypses, notably in *2 Enoch* from which we learn that the Lord created Adam after His Face. F. Andersen stresses the theological uniqueness of such creational imagery. He, however, does not clarify what the creation after the Lord's Face means in the broader textual context of the Slavonic apocalypse. The Lord's Face plays an important role in *2 Enoch's* theophanic descriptions being identified with the Lord's glorious form — His *Kavod.* In chapter 22 of *2 Enoch* the Lord's Face emits light and fire and serves as the source of Enoch's luminous metamorphosis. In this context, the creation of Adam after the Lord's Face demonstrates a remarkable effort toward merging the *Kavod* and *tselem* paradigms of the transformational vision.

The previous investigation shows the important role of the Adam-Moses connection in the evolution from outer to inner in *Kavod* imagery. It is clear, however, that in the Macarian writings the internalizing of the *Kavod* paradigm is not confined solely to the reevaluation of Moses' *Gestalt.* The effort is much more radical. In fact, it is so revolutionary that it strikes even distinguished students of the mystical traditions.

---

[305] In rabbinic literature the traditions about Moses as a luminous conterpart of Adam also can be found. Gottstein stresses that "the luminescent quality of the *tselem* is the basis for comparison between Moses and Adam in several rabbinical materials." Goshen Gottstein, "The Body," 182. *Deut. R.* 11.3 attests to such traditions: "Adam said to Moses: 'I am greater than you because I have been created in the image of God.' Whence this? For it is said, 'and God created man in his own image' (Gen. 1,27). Moses replied to him: 'I am far superior to you, for the honor which was given to you has been taken away from you, as it is said: but man (Adam) abideth not in honor, (Ps. XLIX, 13) but as for me, the radiant countenance which God gave me still remains with me.' Whence? For it is said: 'his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated' (Deut. 34:7)." *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 7, 173. Gottstein also gives another midrashic passage from *Midrash Tadshe* 4 in which Moses is again Adam's luminous counterpart: "In the likeness of the creation of the world the Holy One blessed be he performed miracles for Israel when they came out of Egypt... In the beginning: 'and God created man in his image,' and in the desert: 'and Moshe knew not that the skin of his face shone.'" Cf. Jellinek, A. *Bet ha-Midrash*, vol. 3, 168. Jerusalem: Wahrmann, 1967. 6 vols.

One of them, Gershom Scholem, points to the amazing Macarian tendency for mystical "reinterpretation" of the Merkabah vision of Ezekiel in which the human soul become itself the throne of glory.[306] In Homily II.1.1–2 Macarius writes:

> When Ezekiel the prophet beheld the divinely glorious vision, he described it in human terms but in a way full of mysteries that completely surpass the powers of the human mind.... And all of this which the prophet saw in ecstasy or in a trance was indeed true and certain, but it was only signifying and foreshadowing something no less hidden, something divine and mysterious, "a mystery hidden for generations" (Col 1:26) but that "has been revealed only in our time, the end of the ages," (1 Pt 1:20) when Christ appeared. For the prophet was viewing the mystery of the human soul that would receive its Lord and would become his throne of glory. For the soul that is deemed to be judged worthy to participate in the light of the Holy Spirit by becoming his throne and habitation, and is covered with the beauty of ineffable glory of the Spirit, becomes all light, all face, all eye.[307]

Scholem, observing such a radical rethinking of classic *Kavod* imagery, further asks the legitimate question: "was there not a temptation to regard man himself as the representative of divinity, his soul as the throne of glory?"[308] Interestingly enough, this query directs us to the very heart of the Macarian theological enterprise in which the *Kavod* internalization become possible only as a consequence of the unique interrelationships between human and divine in the event of Christ's transfiguration.

CRYSTALLIZATION OF THE NEW PARADIGM: THE MACARIAN ACCOUNT OF THE LORD'S TRANSFIGURATION

The previous analysis shows that in the Macarian homilies Moses' shining countenance and the luminosity of Adam's prelapsarian *tselem* serve as metaphors for major paradigms of the transformational vision.

In the Macarian writings, one can also encounter a third paradigm of luminous transformation which is radically different from the previous two traditions. In a peculiar Macarian understanding of Christ's trans-

---

306 Scholem, *Major Trends*, 79.

307 Pseudo-Macarius, *The Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 37.

308 Scholem, *Major Trends*, 79.

figuration[309] on Mt. Tabor, the duality of inner and outer in the *visio Dei* is expressed in a new metaphor of the transformational vision — Christ's "Body[310] of Light."[311] Macarius makes an important theological statement when he observes that in His Transfiguration Christ was not just covered by the Glory but "was transfigured into (μετεμορφώθη εἰς) divine glory and into infinite light (εἰς τὸ φῶς τὸ ἄπειρον)" (II.15.38).[312]

---

[309] The original Synoptic accounts of Christ's transfiguration seem influenced by the *Kavod* paradigm in its classical Exodus' form. Several details of the account serve as important reminders: the vision took place on a mountain, the presence of Moses, a bright cloud that enveloped the visionaries, a voice which came out of the cloud, and the shining face of Christ. On Moses typology in the Synoptic accounts of the Transfiguration see: McGuckin, J. A. *The Transfiguration of Christ in Scripture and Tradition*, 1–19. Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity, 9. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1986; Markus, J. *The Way of the Lord*, 80–93. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1992; Thrall, M. E. "Elijah and Moses in Mark's Account of the Transfiguration." *NTS* 16 (1969–70): 305–17.

[310] The verb from the Synoptic account implies that Jesus' body was changed. Cf. Behm, *TDNT*, vol. 4, 755–7.

[311] Another important testimony to the Lord's Body of Light is *Pseudo-Clementine Homily* 17:7 which pictures the brilliant radiance of Christ's body in connection with Christ's image: "For He has shape, and He has every limb primarily and solely for beauty's sake, and not for use. For He has not eyes that He may see with them; for He sees on every side, since He is incomparably more brilliant in His body than the visual spirit which is in us, and He is more splendid than everything, so that in comparison with Him the light of the sun may be reckoned as darkness. Nor has He ears that He may hear; for He hears, perceives, moves, energizes, acts on every side. But He has the most beautiful shape on account of man, that the pure in heart may be able to see Him, that they may rejoice because they suffered. For He molded man in His own shape as in the grandest seal, in order that he may be the ruler and lord of all, and that all may be subject to him. Wherefore, judging that He is the universe, and that man is His image (for He is Himself invisible, but His image man is visible), the man who wishes to worship Him honours His visible image, which is man." Roberts, A., and J. Donaldson, eds. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 8, 319–20. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950–51. 10 vols. It is important that here Christ's luminosity is placed into the account of Adam's creation after God's image. The phrase "He is incomparably more brilliant in his body than the visual spirit which is in us" deserves particular attention since it can refer to the correspondence between the Lord's luminous "body" and the Adamic *tselem*.

[312] Pseudo-Macarius, *The Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 122–3. Dörries et al. *Die 50 Geistlichen Homilien*, 149–50.

In II.15.38 the homilist elaborates this ingenious understanding of Christ's transfiguration in which the internal and external aspects of transformational mystical experience are absolutely resolved:

> For as the body of the Lord was glorified when he climbed the mount and was transfigured into the divine glory and into infinite light, so also the bodies of the saints are glorified and shine like lightning.[313] Just as the interior glory of Christ covered his body and shone completely, in the same way also in the saints the interior power of Christ in them in the day will be poured out exteriorly upon their bodies... (II.15.38).[314]

The language of the passage further reinforces the totality of this transformational vision — Christ's internal glory serves as the teleological source of his complete, luminous metamorphosis.

In the articulation of the newness of Christ's condition, Macarius thus offers a completely new paradigm of the beatific vision — the bodies of visionaries are now not simply covered externally with the divine light but are "lightened"[315] in the way as many lamps are lightened from the one:

> Similarly, as many lamps are lighted from the one, same fire, so also it is necessary that the bodies of the saints, which are members of Christ, become the same which Christ himself is. (II.15.38).[316]

In this new concept of the transformational vision, Macarius, however, sets a significant distinction between Christ's Transfiguration and human luminous transformation. In contrast to the Lord's metamorphosis, the bodies of mortals cannot be completely "transfigured into the divine glory" but rather simply become "glorified."

The hypostatic quality of Christ's luminous form is what differentiates Him from transformed Christians who are only predestined to participate

---

[313] Origen in *Princ.* 2.3.7 remarks that the best and purest spirits must have some kind of body, being changed according to their degree of merit into an ethereal condition, and interprets "change" in 1 Cor 15:52 as "shining with light."

[314] Pseudo-Macarius, *The Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 122–3. Dörries et al. *Die 50 Geistlichen Homilien*, 149–50.

[315] It is noteworthy that the homilist applies the imagery of "covering" not only to the physical bodies of these Christians but also to their souls which according to him will be "covered with the beauty of the ineffable glory of the light of Christ." Pseudo-Macarius, *The Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 37.

[316] Pseudo-Macarius, *The Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 122–3; Dörries et al. *Die 50 Geistlichen Homilien*, 149–50.

in the light of His Glory and "have put on the raiment of ineffable light."[317] This articulation of the distinction between Christ's hypostasis and His light will play later an important role in Palamas' dialectics of God's essence and the divine energies.

CONCLUSION

It is time to return to the passage from the *Philokalia* which began this investigation. In comparison with the "traditional" cases of transformational visions, this account might appear as quite ambiguous. It demonstrates the absence of significant details of such visions in which the luminous metamorphosis of a visionary becomes possible as the consequence of the beatific vision of the glorious "form" of the Deity. The teleological necessity of such a divine form, in its external or internal manifestations, seems to presuppose the very possibility of any luminous metamorphosis. On the contrary, in the *Philokalia* account a visionary does not see any luminous form, but "the open space within the heart," which, however, makes him entirely luminous.

The answer to this strange situation can be found in the Macarian understanding of Christ's transfiguration on Mount Tabor which plays a paradigmatic role in later Hesychastic visions of the divine light. Macarius' position implies that Christ in the Tabor story represents both aspects of the transformational vision. First, He is the Glory after which a visionary is transformed. Second, He is also the visionary himself, whose face and garments are transformed.[318] In the Macarian writings Christ's interior glory is poured out upon his external body, making it luminous.

> For as the body of the Lord was glorified when he climbed the mount and was transfigured into the divine glory and into infinite light, so also the bodies of the saints are glorified and shine like lightning. Just as the interior glory of Christ covered his body and shone completely, in the same way also in the saints the interior power of Christ in them in the day will be poured out exteriorly upon their bodies.... (II.15.38).[319]

---

[317] Pseudo-Macarius, *The Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 44.

[318] The luminous face and the transformed garments of Christ in the Synoptic accounts of the Transfiguration may stress the role of Christ as a visionary of His own glory. It parallels the shining face of Moses after his visionary experience on Mount Sinai and to the transformation of visionaries' garments in Jewish and Christian apocalypses.

[319] Pseudo-Macarius, *The Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 122–3. Dörries et al. *Die 50 Geistlichen Homilien*, 149–50.

In the light of the Macarian account of Christ's transfiguration, the requirement for the divine glorious form as the transforming source of the visionary experience becomes replaced by the notion of the divine energies. It becomes possible since the locus of the visionary's perspective now is not external to the divine luminous form, but is rather immanent within it. In this situation the dichotomy between the subject of the beautific vision and the object of the beautific vision can be easily overcome.

A Hesychast in his transformational vision intends to resemble Christ in the Transfiguration. He focuses his physical and intellectual gaze not on the outside but on the inside, upon his heart, "where all the powers of the soul reside," waiting patiently that the interior power of Christ will lighten him as a lamp, so he can "become the same which Christ himself is." Divine glory here, just as in the *Kavod* tradition, is still confined within the anthropomorphic form, but there is a substantial difference — this human form is now the visionary himself, who imitates Christ's transfiguration, whose inner glory pours out exteriorly upon the body.

Moses' Heavenly Counterpart in the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian

Introduction

One of the enigmatic characters in the *Book of Jubilees* is the angel of the presence who dictates to Moses heavenly revelation. The book provides neither the angel's name nor a clear picture of his celestial roles and offices. Complicating the picture is the angel's arrogation, in certain passages of the text, of what the Bible claims are God's words or deeds.[320] In *Jub.* 6:22, for example, the angel utters the following:

> For I have written (this) in the book of the first law in which I wrote for you that you should celebrate it at each of its times one day in a year. I have told you about its sacrifice so that the Israelites may continue to remember and celebrate it throughout their generations during this month — one day each year.[321]

James VanderKam observes that according to these sentences "the angel of the presence wrote the first law, that is, the Pentateuch, including the section about the Festival of Weeks in the cultic calendars (Lev. 23:15–21 and Num. 28:26–31, where the sacrifices are specified)."[322] VanderKam further notes that "these passages are represented as direct revelations by God to Moses in Leviticus and Numbers, not as statements from an angel."[323]

---

[320] VanderKam, J. C. "The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 7 (2000): 378–93 at 390.

[321] VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, vol. 2, 40.

[322] VanderKam, "The Angel," 391.

[323] Ibid.

Jub. 30:12, which retells and modifies Gen 34, repeats the angel's authorial claim again:

> For this reason I have written for you in the words of the law everything that the Shechemites did to Dinah and how Jacob's sons said: "We will not give our daughter to a man who has a foreskin because for us that would be a disgraceful thing."[324]

Even more puzzling is that in these passages the angel insists on personally *writing* the divine words, thus claiming the role of the celestial scribe in a fashion similar to Moses.[325] Also striking is that this nameless angelic scribe posits himself as the writer of the Pentateuch ("For I have written (this) in the book of the first law"), the authorship of which the Tradition ascribes to the son of Amram. What are we to make of these authorial claims by the angel of the presence?

Is it possible that in this puzzling account about two protagonists, one human and the other angelic — both of whom are scribes and authors of the same "law" — we have an allusion to the idea of the heavenly counterpart of a seer in the form of the angel of the presence?[326] In Jewish apocalyptic and early mystical literature such heavenly doubles in the form of angels of the presence are often presented as celestial scribes. The purpose of this paper is to provide conceptual background for the idea of the angel of the presence as the heavenly counterpart of Moses in the *Book of Jubilees*.

---

[324] VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.195.

[325] The scribal office of Moses is reaffirmed throughout the text. Already in the beginning (*Jub.* 1:5; 7; 26) he receives a chain of commands to write down the revelation dictated by the angel.

[326] On the angelology of the *Book of Jubilees* see Charles, R. H. *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis*, lvi–lviii. London: Black, 1902; Testuz, M. *Les idées religieuses du livre des Jubilés*, 75–92. Geneva: Droz, 1960; Berger, K. *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 322–4. JSHRZ, II.3. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus Gerd Nohn, 1981; Dimant, D. "The Sons of Heaven: The Theory of the Angels in the Book of Jubilees in Light of the Writings of the Qumran Community." In Idel, M., D. Dimant, S. Rosenberg, eds. *A Tribute to Sarah: Studies in Jewish Philosophy and Cabala Presented to Professor Sara A. Heller-Wilensky*, 97–118. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1994 [in Hebrew]; VanderKam, "The Angel," 378–93; Najman, H. "Angels at Sinai: Exegesis, Theology and Interpretive Authority." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 7 (2000): 313–33.

I. THE BACKGROUND: THE HEAVENLY COUNTERPART OF THE SEER IN THE JACOB AND THE ENOCH TRADITIONS

Before proceeding to a close analysis of the traditions about the heavenly counterpart of Moses and its possible identification with the angel of the presence, we will provide a short excursus on the background of the idea of the celestial double of a seer. One of the specimens of this tradition is found in the targumic elaborations of the story of the patriarch Jacob that depict his heavenly identity as his "image" engraved on the Throne of Glory.

The Jacob Traditions

The traditions about the heavenly "image" of Jacob are present in several targumic[327] texts,[328] including *Targ. Ps.-J.*, *Targ. Neof.*,[329] and *Frag. Targ.*[330]

For example, in *Targ. Ps.-J.* for Gen 28:12 the following description can be found:

> He [Jacob] had a dream, and behold, a ladder was fixed in the earth with its top reaching toward the heavens ... and on that day they (angels) ascended to the heavens on high, and said, "Come and see Jacob the pious, whose image is fixed (engraved) in the Throne of Glory, and whom you have desired to see."[331]

---

[327] The same tradition can be found in the rabbinic literature. *Gen. R.* 68:12 reads: "...thus it says, Israel in whom I will be glorified (Isa. xlix, 3); it is thou, [said the angels,] whose features are engraved on high; they ascended on high and saw his features and they descended below and found him sleeping." *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 2, 626. On Jacob's image on the Throne of Glory see also: *Gen. R.* 78:3; 82:2; *Num. R.* 4:1; *b.* Hul. 91b; *Pirqe R. El.* 35.

[328] On the traditions about Jacob's image engraved on the Throne see: Wolfson, *Along the Path*, 1–62; 111–86.

[329] "And he dreamed, and behold, a ladder was fixed on the earth and its head reached to the height of the heavens; and behold, the angels that had accompanied him from the house of his father ascended to bear good tidings to the angels on high, saying: 'Come and see the pious man whose image is engraved in the throne of Glory, whom you desired to see.' And behold, the angels from before the Lord ascended and descended and observed him." *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis*, 140.

[330] "... And he dreamt that there was a ladder set on the ground, whose top reached towards the heavens; and behold the angels that had accompanied him from his father's house ascended to announce to the angels of the heights: 'Come and see the pious man, whose image is fixed to the throne of glory....'" Klein, *The Fragment-Targums*, vol. 1, 57, and vol. 2, 20.

[331] *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, 99–100.

Besides the tradition of "engraving" on the Throne, some Jewish materials point to an even more radical identification of Jacob's image with *Kavod*, an anthropomorphic extent of the Deity, often labeled there as the Face of God. Jarl Fossum's research demonstrates that in some traditions about Jacob's image, his celestial "image" or "likeness" is depicted not simply as engraved on the heavenly throne, but as seated upon the throne of glory.[332] Fossum argues that this second tradition is original. Christopher Rowland offers a similar view in proposing to see Jacob's image as "identical with the form of God on the throne of glory (Ezek. 1.26f.)."[333]

The Enoch Traditions

Scholars have previously noted that Enochic materials were also cognizant of the traditions about the heavenly double of a seer. Thus, the idea about the heavenly counterpart of the visionary appears to be present in one of the booklets of *1 (Ethiopic) Enoch*. It has been previously observed[334] that the *Similitudes* seems to entertain the idea of the heavenly twin of a visionary when it identifies Enoch with the Son of Man. Students of the Enochic traditions have been long puzzled by the idea that the son of man, who in the previous chapters of the *Similitudes* is distinguished from Enoch, suddenly becomes identified in *1 Enoch* 71 with the patriarch. James VanderKam suggests that this puzzle can be explained by the Jewish notion, attested in several ancient Jewish texts, that a creature of flesh and blood could have a heavenly double or counterpart.[335] To provide an example, VanderKam points to traditions about Jacob in which the patriarch's "features are engraved on high."[336] He stresses that this theme of the visionary's ignorance of his higher angelic identity is observable, for example, in the *Prayer of Joseph*.

I have previously argued that the idea of the heavenly counterpart of the visionary is also present in another Second Temple Enochic text — *2 (Slavonic) Apocalypse of Enoch*.[337] *2 Enoch* 39:3–6 depicts the patriarch who,

---

[332] Fossum, *The Image*, 140–1.

[333] Rowland, "John 1.51," 504.

[334] See VanderKam, "Righteous One," 182–3; Knibb, "Messianism," 177–80; Fossum, *The Image*, 144–5; Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts*, 151.

[335] VanderKam, "Righteous One," 182–3.

[336] Ibid.

[337] Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 165–76; idem, "The Face as the Heavenly Counterpart of the Visionary in the Slavonic *Ladder of Jacob*," in: Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism*, 399–419.

during his short trip to the earth, retells to his children his earlier encounter with the Face. Enoch relates:

> You, my children, you see my face, a human being created just like yourselves; I am one who has seen the face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot by a fire, emitting sparks. For you gaze into my eyes, a human being created just like yourselves; but I have gazed into the eyes of the Lord, like the rays of the shining sun and terrifying the eyes of a human being. You, my children, you see my right hand beckoning you, a human being created identical to yourselves; but I have seen the right hand of the Lord, beckoning me, who fills heaven. You see the extent of my body, the same as your own; but I have seen the extent of the Lord, without measure and without analogy, who has no end.[338]

Enoch's description reveals a contrast between the two identities of the visionary: the earthly Enoch ("a human being created just like yourselves") and his heavenly counterpart ("the one who has seen the Face of God"). Enoch describes himself in two different modes of existence: as a human being who now stands before his children with a human face and body *and* as a celestial creature who has seen God's face in the heavenly realm. These descriptions of two conditions (earthly and celestial) occur repeatedly in tandem. It is possible that the purpose of Enoch's instruction to his children is not to stress the difference between his human body and the Lord's body, but to emphasize the distinction between *this* Enoch, a human being "created just like yourselves," and the *other* angelic Enoch who has stood before the Lord's face. Enoch's previous transformation into the glorious one and his initiation into the servant of the divine presence in *2 Enoch* 22:7 support this suggestion. It is unlikely that Enoch has somehow "completely" abandoned his supra-angelic status and his unique place before the Face of the Lord granted to him in the previous chapters. An account of Enoch's permanent installation can be found in chapter 36 where the Lord tells Enoch, before his short visit to the earth, that a place has been prepared for him and that he will be in the front of Lord's face "from *now* and forever."[339] What is important here for our research is that the identification of the visionary with his heavenly double involves the installation of the seer into the office of the angel (or the prince) of the presence (*sar happanim*). The importance of this account for the idea of the heavenly counterpart in *2 Enoch* is apparent because it points to the si-

---

[338] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 163.

[339] *2 Enoch* 36:3. Ibid., 161, emphasis mine.

multaneous existence of Enoch's angelic double installed in heaven and its human counterpart, whom God sends periodically on missionary errands.

Targumic and rabbinic accounts about Jacob also attest to this view of the heavenly counterpart when they depict angels beholding Jacob as one who at one and the same time is both installed in heaven and sleeping on earth. In relation to this paradoxical situation, in which the seer is able not only to be unified with his heavenly counterpart in the form of the angel of the presence but also to retain the ability to travel back into the earthly realm, Jonathan Smith observes that "the complete pattern is most apparent in the various texts that witness to the complex Enoch tradition, particularly *2 Enoch*. Here Enoch was originally a man (ch. 1) who ascended to heaven and became an angel (22:9, cf. 3En 10:3f. and 48C), returned to earth as a man (33:11), and finally returned again to heaven to resume his angelic station (67:18)."[340]

What is also important in *2 Enoch*'s account for our ongoing investigation is that while the "heavenly version" of Enoch is installed in heaven his "earthly version" is dispatched by God to another lower realm with the mission to deliver the handwriting made by the translated hero in heaven. In *2 Enoch* 33:3–10, for example, the Lord endows Enoch with the mission of distributing the heavenly writings on earth:

> And now, Enoch, whatever I have explained to you, and whatever you have seen in heavens, and whatever you have seen on earth, and whatever *I have written in the books* — by my supreme wisdom I have contrived it all..... Apply your mind, Enoch, and acknowledge the One who is speaking to you. And you take *the books which I (!) have written*.... And you go down onto the earth and tell your sons all that I have told you.... And deliver to them the books in your handwriting, and they will read them and know their Creator.... And distribute the books in your handwriting to your children and (your) children to (their) children; and the parents will read (them) from generation to generation.[341]

This account is striking in that while commanding the adept to travel to the lower realm with the heavenly books, God himself seems to assume the seer's upper scribal identity. The Deity tells Enoch, who is previously depicted as the scribe of the books,[342] that He wrote these books. This situ-

---

[340] Smith, "Prayer of Joseph," 705.

[341] *2 Enoch* 33:3–10 (the shorter recension). Andersen, "2 Enoch," 157, emphasis mine.

[342] See *2 Enoch* 23:6 "I wrote everything accurately. And I wrote 366 books." Ibid., 140.

ation is reminiscent of some developments found in the *Jubilees* where the angel of the presence also seems to take on the celestial scribal identity of Moses. It is also noteworthy that in the *Jubilees,* like in *2 Enoch,* the boundaries between the upper scribal identity of the visionary who claims to be the writer of "the first law" and the Deity appear blurred.[343]

In *2 Enoch* 33 where the divine scribal figure commands the seventh antediluvian hero to deliver the book in his [Enoch's] handwriting, one possibly witnesses the unique, paradoxical communication between the upper and the lower scribal identities.

The fact that in *2 Enoch* 33 the patriarch is dispatched to earth to deliver the books in "his handwriting," the authorship of which the text assigns to the Deity, is also worthy of attention given that in the traditions attested in the *Jubilees*, where Moses appears as a heavenly counterpart, the angel of the presence claims authorship of the materials that the Tradition explicitly assigns to Moses. Here, just like in *2 Enoch,* book authorship can be seen as a process executed simultaneously by both earthly and heavenly authors, though it is the function of the earthly counterpart to deliver them to humans.

Angels of the Presence

It is significant that in both Enoch and Jacob traditions the theme of the heavenly counterpart is conflated with the imagery of the angels of the presence. For our study of the tradition in the *Jubilees,* where the angel of the presence might be serving as the heavenly counterpart of the son of Amram, it is important to note that both Jacob and Enoch traditions identify the heavenly counterparts of the seers as angelic servants of the presence.

Thus, in *2 Enoch* the seventh antediluvian hero is depicted as the angelic servant of the presence permanently installed in front of God's face.[344]

---

[343] Cf. *Jub.* 6:22 and 30:12. On the blurred boundaries between the angel of the presence and the Deity in the *Jubilees*, see VanderKam, "The Angel," 390–2. It should be noted that the tendency to identify the seer's heavenly identity with the Deity or his anthropomorphic extent (known as his *Kavod* or the Face) is discernable in all accounts dealing with the heavenly counterpart.

[344] *2 Enoch* 21:3: "And the Lord sent one of his glorious ones, the archangel Gabriel. And he said to me, 'Be brave, Enoch! Don't be frightened! Stand up, and come with me and stand in front of the face of the Lord forever.'"

2 Enoch 22:6: "And the Lord said to his servants, sounding them out, 'Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!'"

The Slavonic apocalypse repeats again and again that the seer is installed before the divine Face from "now and forever." The later Merkabah developments reaffirm this prominent office of Enoch's upper identity in the form of angel Metatron, portraying him as a special servant of the divine presence, *sar happanim.*

In the Jacob traditions the heavenly counterpart of the son of Isaac is also depicted as the angel of the presence. Thus, in the *Prayer of Joseph*, the text which gives one of the most striking descriptions of the pre-existent heavenly double of Jacob, the heavenly version of the patriarch reveals his identity as the angel of the presence: "... I, Israel, the archangel of the power of the Lord and the chief captain among the sons of God ... *the first minister before the face of God....*"[345]

The imagery of angels of the presence or the Face looms large in the traditions of the heavenly counterpart. What is striking here is not only that the heavenly double of the visionary is fashioned as the angel (or the prince) of the presence, but also that the angelic guides who acquaint the seer with his upper celestial identity and its offices are depicted as angels of the presence. In this respect the figure of the angelic servant of the divine presence is especially important. Both Jacob and Enoch materials contain numerous references to the angel of the presence under the name Uriel, who is also known in various traditions under the names of Phanuel and Sariel.

In *2 Enoch* 22–23, Uriel[346] plays an important role during Enoch's initiations near the Throne of Glory.[347] He instructs Enoch about different subjects of esoteric knowledge in order to prepare him for various celestial offices, including the office of the heavenly scribe. *1 Enoch* 71 also refers to the same angel but names him Phanuel. In the *Similitudes*, he occupies an important place among the four principal angels, namely, the place usually assigned to Uriel. In fact, the angelic name Phanuel might be a title which

---

2 Enoch 36:3: "Because a place has been prepared for you, and you will be in front of my face from now and forever." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 136, 138, and 161.

[345] Smith, "Prayer of Joseph," 713.

[346] Slav. *Vereveil.*

[347] The beginning of this tradition can be found in the *Book of Heavenly Luminaries* where Enoch writes the instructions of the angel Uriel regarding the secrets of heavenly bodies and their movements. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 173.

stresses the celestial status of Uriel/Sariel as one of the servants of the divine *Panim*.[348]

The title "Phanuel" is reminiscent of the terminology found in various Jacob accounts. In Gen. 32:31, Jacob names the place of his wrestling with God as Peniel — the Face of God. Scholars believe that the angelic name *Phanuel* and the place *Peniel* are etymologically connected.[349]

This reference to Uriel/Sariel/Phanuel as the angel who instructs/wrestles with Jacob and announces to him his new angelic status and name is documented in several other sources, including *Targ. Neof.* and *PrJos.* In the *Prayer of Joseph*, for example, Jacob-Israel reveals that "Uriel, the angel of God, came forth and said that 'I [Jacob-Israel] had descended to earth and I had tabernacled among men and that I had been called by the name of Jacob.' He envied me and fought with me and wrestled with me...."[350]

In the Slavonic *Ladder of Jacob*, another important text attesting to the idea of the heavenly counterpart, Jacob's identification with his heavenly counterpart, the angel Israel, again involves the initiatory encounter with the angel Sariel, the angel of the divine presence or the Face. The same state of events is observable in Enochic materials where Uriel serves as a principal heavenly guide to another prominent visionary who has also acquired knowledge about his own heavenly counterpart, namely, Enoch/Metatron. The aforementioned traditions pertaining to the angels of the presence are important for our ongoing investigation of the angelic figure in the *Jubilees* in view of their role in accession to the upper identity of the seer.

II. THE HEAVENLY COUNTERPART OF MOSES

The Exagoge of Ezekiel the Tragedian

With this excursus into the background of the traditions about the heavenly counterpart found in the Enoch and the Jacob materials in place, we will now proceed to some Mosaic accounts that also attest to the idea of the celestial double of the son of Amram. One such early Mosaic testimony has survived as a part of the drama *Exagoge*, a writing attributed to Ezekiel the Tragedian, which depicts the prophet's experience at Sinai as

---

[348] *Hekhalot Rabbati* (*Synopse* § 108) refers to the angel Suria/Suriel as the Prince of the Face. On the identification of Sariel with the Prince of the Presence see: Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 99; Smith, "Prayer of Joseph," 709.

[349] G. Vermes suggests that the angelic name Phanuel "is depended on the Peniel/Penuel of Genesis 32." See Vermes, "The Impact," 13.

[350] Smith, "Prayer of Joseph," 713.

his celestial enthronement.[351] Preserved in fragmentary form in Eusebius of Caesarea's[352] *Praeparatio evangelica*, the *Exagoge* 67–90 reads:

---

[351] On the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian, see Bunta, S. N. *Moses, Adam and the Glory of the Lord in Ezekiel the Tragedian: On the Roots of a Merkabah Text.* Ph. D. diss.; Marquette University, 2005; Collins, J. J. *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 224–5. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000; Gaster, M. *The Samaritans. Their History, Doctrines and Literature.* London: Oxford University Press, 1925; Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*; Gutman, Y. *The Beginnings of Jewish-Hellenistic Literature.* 2 vols. Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1958–63 [in Hebrew]; Holladay, C. R. "The Portrait of Moses in Ezekiel the Tragedian," *SBLSP* 10 (1976): 447–52; idem, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors.* Vol. 2: *Poets*, 439–49. SBLTT, 30. Pseudepigrapha Series 12; Atlanta: Scholars, 1989; van der Horst, P. W. "De Joodse toneelschrijver Ezechiel." *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 36 (1982): 97–112; idem, "Moses' Throne Vision in Ezekiel the Dramatist." *JJS* 34 (1983): 21–9; idem, "Some Notes on the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel." *Mnemosyne* 37 (1984): 364–5; Hurtado, L. *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism*, 58ff. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988; Jacobson, H. "Mysticism and Apocalyptic in Ezekiel's Exagoge," *ICS* 6 (1981): 273–93; idem, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; Kuiper, K. "De Ezekiele Poeta Iudaeo." *Mnemosyne* 28 (1900): 237–80; idem, "Le poète juif Ezéchiel." *Revue des études juives* 46 (1903): 48–73, 161–77; Lanfranchi, P. *L'Exagoge d'Ezéchiel le Tragique: Introduction, texte, traduction et commentaire.* SVTP, 21. Leiden: Brill, 2006; idem, "Moses' Vision of the Divine Throne in the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian." In De Jonge, H. J., and J. Tromp, eds. *The Book of Ezekiel and its Influence*, 53–9. Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007; Meeks, W. A. "Moses as God and King." In Neusner, J., ed. *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, 354–71. Leiden: Brill, 1968; idem, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology.* SNT, 14. Leiden: Brill, 1967; Orlov, "Ex 33 on God's Face," 130–47; idem, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 262–8; Robertson, "Ezekiel the Tragedian," 803–19; Ruffatto, K. "Raguel as Interpreter of Moses' Throne Vision: The Transcendent Identity of Raguel in the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian" (Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the SBL, Philadelphia, 22 November 2005); idem, "Polemics with Enochic Traditions in the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian." *JSP* 15 (2006): 195–210; Starobinski-Safran, E. "Un poète judéo-hellénistique: Ezéchiel le Tragique." *Museum Helveticum* 3 (1974): 216–224; Vogt, E. *Tragiker Ezechiel.* JSHRZ, 4.3. Gütersloh: G. Mohn, 1983; Wiencke, M. *Ezechielis Judaei poetae Alexandrini fabulae quae inscribitur Exagoge fragmenta.* Mümster: Monasterii Westfalorum, 1931; Van De Water, R. "Moses' Exaltation: Pre-Christian?" *JSP* 21 (2000): 59–69.

[352] Eusebius preserves the seventeen fragments containing 269 iambic trimeter verses. Unfortunately, the limited scope of our investigation does not allow us to reflect on the broader context of Moses' dream in the *Exagoge*.

> Moses: I had a vision of a great throne on the top of Mount Sinai and it reached till the folds of heaven. A noble man was sitting on it, with a crown and a large scepter in his left hand. He beckoned to me with his right hand, so I approached and stood before the throne. He gave me the scepter and instructed me to sit on the great throne. Then he gave me a royal crown and got up from the throne. I beheld the whole earth all around and saw beneath the earth and above the heavens. A multitude of stars fell before my knees and I counted them all. They paraded past me like a battalion of men. Then I awoke from my sleep in fear.
>
> Raguel: My friend, this is a good sign from God. May I live to see the day when these things are fulfilled. You will establish a great throne, become a judge and leader of men. As for your vision of the whole earth, the world below and that above the heavens — this signifies that you will see what is, what has been and what shall be.[353]

Scholars argue that, given its quotation by Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 80–40 B.C.E.), this Mosaic account is a witness to traditions of the second century B.C.E.[354] Such dating puts this account in close chronological proximity to the *Book of Jubilees*. It is also noteworthy that both texts (*Jubilees* and *Exagoge*) exhibit a common tendency to adapt some Enochic motifs and themes into the framework of the Mosaic tradition.

The *Exagoge* 67–90 depicts Moses' dream in which he sees an enthroned celestial figure who vacates his heavenly seat and hands over to the son of Amram his royal attributes. The placement of Moses on the great throne in the *Exagoge* account and his donning of the royal regalia have been often interpreted by scholars as the prophet's occupation of the seat of the Deity. Pieter van der Horst remarks that in the *Exagoge* Moses becomes "an anthropomorphic hypostasis of God himself."[355] The uniqueness of the motif of God's vacating the throne and transferring occupancy to someone else has long puzzled scholars. An attempt to deal with this enigma by bringing in the imagery of the vice-regent does not, in my judgment, completely solve the problem; the vice-regents in Jewish traditions (for example, Metatron) do not normally occupy God's throne but instead have their own glorious chair that sometimes serves as a replica of the divine Seat. It seems that the enigmatic identification of the prophet with the divine Form can best be explained, not through the concept of a vice-regent, but rather through the notion of the heavenly twin or counterpart.

---

[353] Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*, 54–5.

[354] Holladay, *Fragments*, vol. 2, 308–12.

[355] van der Horst, "Some Notes," 364.

In view of the aforementioned traditions about the heavenly twins of Enoch and Jacob, it is possible that the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian also attests to the idea of the heavenly counterpart of the seer when it identifies Moses with the glorious anthropomorphic extent. As we recall, the text depicts Moses' vision of "a noble man" with a crown and a large scepter in the left hand installed on the great throne. In the course of the seer's initiation, the attributes of this "noble man," including the royal crown and the scepter, are transferred to Moses who is instructed to sit on the throne formerly occupied by the noble man. The narrative thus clearly identifies the visionary with his heavenly counterpart, in the course of which the seer literally takes the place and the attributes of his upper identity. Moses' enthronement is reminiscent of Jacob's story, where Jacob's heavenly identity is depicted as being "engraved" or "enthroned" on the divine Seat. The account also underlines that Moses acquired his vision in a dream by reporting that he awoke from his sleep in fear. Here, just as in the Jacob tradition, while the seer is sleeping on earth his counterpart in the upper realm is identified with the *Kavod.*

The Idiom of Standing and the Angel of the Presence

Despite the draw of seeing the developments found in the Exagoge as the later adaptation of the Enochic and Jacobite traditions about the heavenly double, it appears that the influence may point in other direction and these accounts were shaped by the imagery found already in the biblical Mosaic accounts. It is possible that the conceptual roots of the identification of Moses with the angelic servant of the presence could be found already in the biblical materials where the son of Amram appears standing before the divine presence. To clarify the Mosaic background of the traditions about the heavenly counterpart, we must now turn to the biblical Mosaic accounts dealing with the symbolism of the divine presence or the Face.

One of the early identification of the hero with the angel of the presence, important in the traditions about the heavenly double, can be found in *2 Enoch* where in the course of his celestial metamorphosis the seventh antediluvian patriarch Enoch was called by God to stand before his Face forever. What is important in this portrayal of the installation of a human being into the prominent angelic rank is the emphasis on the *standing* before the Face of God. Enoch's role as the angel of the presence is introduced through the formulae "stand before my face forever." *2 Enoch's* definition of the office of the servant of the divine presence as standing before the Face of the Lord appears to be linked to the biblical Mosaic accounts in

which Moses is described as the one who was standing before the Lord's Face on Mount Sinai. It is significant that, as in the Slavonic apocalypse where the Lord himself orders the patriarch to stand before his presence,[356] the biblical Mosaic accounts contain a familiar command. In the theophanic account from Exodus 33, the Lord commands Moses to stand near him: "There is a place by me where you shall stand (ונצבת)[357] on the rock."

In Deuteronomy this language of standing continues to play a prominent role. In Deuteronomy 5:31 God again orders Moses to stand with him: "But you, stand (עמד)[358] here by me, and I will tell you all the commandments, the statutes and the ordinances, that you shall teach them...." In Deuteronomy 5:4–5 the motif of standing, as in Exodus 33, is juxtaposed with the imagery of the divine *Panim*: "The Lord spoke with you face to face (פנים בפנים) at the mountain, out of the fire. At that time I was standing (עמד)[359] between the Lord and you to declare to you the words of the Lord; for you were afraid because of the fire and did not go up the mountain." Here Moses is depicted as standing before the Face of the Deity and mediating the divine presence to the people.

These developments of the motif of standing are intriguing and might constitute the conceptual background of the later identifications of Moses with the office of the angel of the presence.

The idiom of standing also plays a significant part in the *Exagoge* account that has Moses approach and stand (ἐστάθην)[360] before the throne.[361]

In the extra-biblical Mosaic accounts one can also see a growing tendency to depict Moses' standing position as the posture of a celestial being. Crispin Fletcher-Louis observes that in various Mosaic traditions the motif of Moses' standing was often interpreted through the prism of God's own standing, indicating the prophet's participation in divine or angelic nature. He notes that in Samaritan and rabbinic literature a standing posture was

---

[356] See *2 Enoch* 22:6: "And the Lord said to his servants, sounding them out: 'Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!'" *2 Enoch* 36:3: "Because a place has been prepared for you, and you will be in front of my face from now and forever." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 138 and 161.

[357] LXX: στήση.

[358] LXX: στῆθι.

[359] LXX: ἑιστήκειν.

[360] Moses' standing here does not contradict his enthronement. The same situation is discernible in *2 Enoch*, where the hero who was promised a place to stand in front of the Lord's Face for eternity is placed on the seat next to the Deity.

[361] Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*, 54.

generally indicative of the celestial being.[362] Jarl Fossum points to the tradition preserved in *Memar Marqah* 4:12 where Moses is described as "the (immutable) Standing One."[363]

In *4Q377* 2 vii–xii, the standing posture of Moses appears to be creatively conflated with his status as a celestial being:

> ... And like a man sees li[gh]t, he has appeared to us in a burning fire, from above, from heaven, and on earth he stood (עמד) on the mountain to teach us that there is no God apart from him, and no Rock like him.....But Moses, the man of God, was with God in the cloud, and the cloud covered him, because [...] when he sanctified him, and he spoke as an angel through his mouth, for who was a messen[ger] like him, a man of the pious ones?[364]

Scholars have previously observed that Moses here "plays the role of an angel, having received revelation from the mouth of God."[365]

In light of the aforementioned Mosaic developments it is possible that the idiom of standing so prominent in the depiction of the servants of the presence in the Enochic tradition of the heavenly double has Mosaic provenance. Already in Exodus and Deuteronomy the prophet is portrayed as the one who is able to stand before the Deity to mediate the divine presence to human beings.[366] The extra-biblical Mosaic accounts try to further secure the prophet's place in the front of the Deity by depicting him as a celestial creature. The testimony found in the *Exagoge*, where Moses is described as standing before the Throne, seems to represent an important step toward the rudimentary definitions of the office of the angelic servant of the Face.

---

[362] Fletcher-Louis, C. *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 146–7. STDJ, 42. Leiden: Brill, 2002; Fossum, J. *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: Samaritan and Jewish Mediation Concepts and the Origin of Gnosticism*, 121. WUNT, 36. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1985; Montgomery, J. A. *The Samaritans*, 215. New York: KTAV, 1968.

[363] Fossum, *The Name of God*, 56–8.

[364] García Martínez, F.. and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, vol. 2, 745. Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1997. 2 vols.

[365] Najman, "Angels at Sinai," 319.

[366] This emphasis on mediation is important since mediating of the divine presence is one of the pivotal functions of the Princes of the Face.

The Idiom of the Hand and the Heavenly Counterpart

One of the constant features of the aforementioned transformational accounts in which a seer becomes identified with his heavenly identity is the motif of the divine hand that embraces the visionary and invites him into a new celestial dimension of his existence. This motif is found both in Mosaic and Enochic traditions where the hand of God embraces and protects the seer during his encounter with the Lord in the upper realm.[367]

Thus, in *2 Enoch* 39 the patriarch relates to his children that during his vision of the divine *Kavod*, the Lord helped him with his right hand. The hand here is described as having a gigantic size and filling heaven: "But you, my children, see the right hand of one who helps you, a human being created identical to yourself, but I have seen the right hand of the Lord, helping me and filling heaven."[368] The theme of the hand of God assisting the seer during his vision of the Face here is not an entirely new development, since it recalls the Mosaic account from Exodus 33:22–23. Here the Deity promises the prophet to protect him with his hand during the encounter with the divine *Panim*: "and while my glory passes by I will put you in a cleft of the rock, and I will cover you with my hand until I have passed by; then I will take away my hand, and you shall see my back; but my face shall not be seen." There is also another early Mosaic account where the motif of the divine hand assisting the visionary is mentioned. The *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian relates that during the prophet's vision of the *Kavod*, a noble man sitting on the throne beckoned him with his right hand (δεξιᾷ δέ μοι ἔνευσε).[369]

It is conceivable that *2 Enoch's* description is closer to the form of the tradition preserved in Ezekiel the Tragedian than to the account found in Exodus since the *Exagoge* mentions the right hand of the Deity beckoning the seer. What is important here is that both Mosaic accounts seem to represent the formative conceptual roots for the later Enochic developments where the motif of the Lord's hand is used in the depiction of the unification of the seventh antedeluvial hero with his celestial counterpart in the form of angel Metatron. Thus, from the Merkabah materials one can learn that "the hand of God rests on the head of the youth, named Metatron."[370]

---

[367] The later Merkabah developments about Jacob also refer to the God's embracement of Jacob-Israel.

[368] *2 Enoch* 39:5. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 162; Соколов, "Материалы," 38.

[369] Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*, 54.

[370] *Synopse*, § 384.

The motif of the divine hand assisting Enoch-Metatron during his celestial transformation is present in *Sefer Hekhalot*, where it appears in the form of a tradition very similar to the evidence found in the *Exagoge* and *2 Enoch*. In *Synopse* § 12 Metatron tells R. Ishmael that during the transformation of his body into the gigantic cosmic extent, matching the world in length and breath, God "laid his hand" on the translated hero.[371] Here, just as in the Mosaic accounts, the hand of the Deity signifies the bond between the seer's body and the divine corporeality, leading to the creation of a new celestial entity in the form of the angelic servant of the presence.

CONCLUSION

One of the important characteristics of the aforementioned visionary accounts in which adepts become identified with their heavenly doubles is the transference of prominent celestial offices to the new servants of the presence. Thus, for example, transference of the offices is discernable in the *Exagoge* where the "heavenly man" hands over to the seer his celestial regalia, scepter and crown, and then surrenders his heavenly seat, which the Enoch-Metatron tradition often identifies with the duty of the celestial scribe. Indeed, the scribal role may represent one of the most important offices that angels of the presence often surrender to the new servants of the Face. Thus, for example, *2 Enoch* describes the initiation of the seer by Vereveil (Uriel) in the course of which this angel of the presence, portrayed in *2 Enoch* as a "heavenly recorder," conveys to the translated patriarch knowledge and skills pertaining to the scribal duties. What is important in this account is its emphasis on the act of transference of the scribal duties from Vereveil (Uriel) to Enoch, when the angel of the presence surrenders to the hero the celestial library and even the pen from his hand.[372]

These developments are intriguing and may provide some insights into the puzzling tradition about the angel of the presence in the *Book of*

---

[371] "...the Holy One, blessed be he, laid his hand on me and blessed me with 1,365,000 blessings. I was enlarged and increased in size until I matched the world in length and breadth." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 263.

[372] *2 Enoch* 22:10–11 (the shorter recension) "Lord summoned Vereveil, one of his archangels, who was wise, *who records all the Lord's deeds*. And the Lord said to Vereveil, 'Bring out the books from storehouses, and give a pen to Enoch and read him the books.' And Vereveil hurried and brought me the books mottled with myrrh. And he gave me the pen from his hand." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 141.

Jubilees.[373] The *Jubilees,* like the Enochic account, has two scribal figures; one of them is the angel of the presence and the other, a human being. Yet, the exact relationship between these two figures is difficult to establish in view of the scarcity and ambiguity of the relevant depictions. Does the angel of the presence in the *Jubilees* pose, on the fashion of Uriel, as a celestial scribe who is responsible for initiation of the adept into the scribal duties? Or does he represent the heavenly counterpart of Moses who is clearly distinguished at this point from the seer? A clear distance between the seer and his celestial identity is not unlikely in the context of the traditions about the heavenly counterpart. In fact, this distance between the two identities — one in the figure of the angel and the other in the figure of a hero — represents a standard feature of such accounts. Thus, for example, the already mentioned account from the *Book of the Similitudes* clearly distinguishes Enoch from his heavenly counterpart in the form of the angelic son of man throughout the whole narrative until the final unification in the last chapter of the book. The gap between the celestial and earthly identities of the seer is also discernable in the targumic accounts about Jacob's heavenly double where the distinction between the two identities is highlighted by a description of the angels who behold Jacob sleeping on earth and at the same time installed in heaven. A distance between the identity of the seer and his heavenly twin is also observable in the *Exagoge* where the heavenly man transfers to Moses his regalia and vacates for him his heavenly seat.

There is, moreover, another important point in the stories about the heavenly counterparts that could provide portentous insight into the nature of pseudepigraphical accounts where these stories are found. This aspect pertains to the issue of the so-called "emulation" of the biblical exemplars in these pseudepigraphical accounts that allows their authors to unveil new revelations in the name of some prominent authority of the past.[374] The

---

[373] When one looks closer into the angelic imagery reflected in the *Book of Jubilees* it is intriguing that Moses' angelic guide is defined as an angel of the presence. As has already been demonstrated, the process of establishing twinship with the heavenly counterpart not only reflects the initiatory procedure of becoming a Servant of the Face, it also always presupposes the initiation performed by another angelic servant of the Face.

[374] On the process of the emulation of the biblical exemplars in the Second Temple literature, see Najman, H. *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism.* SJSJ, 77. Leiden: Brill, 2003; idem, "Torah of Moses: Pseudonymous Attribution in Second Temple Writings." In Evans, C. A., ed.

identity of the celestial scribe in the form of the angel of the presence might further our understanding of the enigmatic process of mystical and literary emulation of the exemplary figure, the cryptic mechanics of which often remain beyond the grasp of our post/modern sensibilities.

Could the tradition of unification of the biblical hero with his angelic counterpart be part of this process of emulation of the exemplar by an adept? Could the intermediate authoritative position[375] of the angel of the presence, predestined to stand "from now and forever" between the Deity himself and the biblical hero, serve here as the safe haven of the author's identity, thus representing the important locus of mystical and literary emulation? Is it possible that in the *Jubilees,* like in some other pseudepigraphical accounts, the figure of the angel of the presence serves as a transformative and literary device that allows an adept to enter the assembly of immortal beings consisting of the heroes of both the celestial and the literary world?

Is it possible that in the traditions of heavenly counterparts where the two characters of the story, one of which is represented by a biblical exemplar, become eventually unified and acquire a single identity, we are able to draw nearer to the very heart of the pseudepigraphical enterprise? In this respect, it does not appear to be coincidental that these transformational accounts dealing with the heavenly doubles of their adepts are permeated with the aesthetics of penmanship and the imagery of the literary enterprise. In the course of these mystical and literary metamorphoses, the heavenly figure surrenders his scribal seat, the library of the celestial books and even personal writing tools to the other, earthly identity who now becomes the new guardian of the literary tradition.

The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity: Studies in Language and Tradition, 202–16. JSPSS, 33. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000; idem, *Authoritative Writing and Interpretation: A Study in the History of Scripture.* Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1998.

[375] This "intermediate" authoritative stand is often further reinforced by the authority of the Deity himself through the identification of the heavenly counterparts with the divine form. On this process, see our previous discussion about the blurring of the boundaries between the heavenly counterparts and the Deity.

Resurrection of Adam's Body: The Redeeming Role of Enoch-Metatron in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*

In *2 Enoch*, a Jewish apocalypse written in the first century CE, a hint about the angelic status of its hero is expressed through his refusal to participate in a family meal. Chapter 56 of this work depicts Methuselah inviting his father Enoch to share food with the close family. In response to this offer the patriarch, who has recently returned from a long celestial journey, politely declines the invitation of his son offering him the following reasons:

> Listen, child! Since the time when the Lord anointed me with the ointment of his glory, food has not come into me, and earthly pleasure my soul does not remember, nor do I desire anything earthly.[376]

The important feature of this passage from the Slavonic apocalypse is the theme of the "ointment of glory," a luminous substance which transformed the former family man into a celestial creature who is no longer able to enjoy earthly food. This motif of transforming ointment is not confined solely to chapter 56 of *2 Enoch* but plays a prominent part in the overall theology of the text. The importance of this motif can be illustrated by its significance in the central event of the story, the hero's radiant metamorphosis in the front of God's *Kavod*. *2 Enoch* 22:9 portrays the archangel Michael anointing Enoch with delightful oil, the ointment of glory identical to that mentioned in chapter 56. The text tells us that the oil's appearance in this procedure was "greater than the greatest light and its ointment is like sweet dew, and it is like rays of the glittering sun."[377]

---

[376] *2 Enoch* 56:2, the longer recension. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 182.

[377] Ibid., 138.

One can see that in the Slavonic text the oil of mercy, also known in Adamic traditions as the oil of resurrection, is responsible for the change of Enoch's mortal nature into the glorious state of a celestial being. It is also significant that the oil appears here to be synonymous with the Glory of the Deity since the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 56 describes the oil as the "ointment of the Lord's glory." In this respect it should not be forgotten that Enoch's embrocation with shining oil takes place in front the Lord's glorious extent, labeled in *2 Enoch* as the divine Face. The patriarch's anointing therefore can be seen as covering with Glory coming from the divine *Kavod.*

At this point it must be noted that several manuscripts of the shorter recension bring some problematic discrepancies to this seamless array of theological motifs pertaining to the patriarch's anointing. They insist that the patriarch was anointed not with ointment of the Lord's glory but instead with the ointment coming from Enoch's head. Thus two manuscripts of the shorter recension (*A* and *U*) insist that the patriarch was anointed not with ointment of *the Lord's glory* but instead with the ointment coming from Enoch's head.

The passage from chapter 56 attested in the manuscripts *A* and *U* reads: "Since the time when the Lord anointed me with the ointment of my [Enoch's] head (**елѣемь главы моеѧ**)...."[378]

This tradition which describes the miraculous power of the oil coming from the head of the main character of the text appears to be quite puzzling. Yet in the light of the later Jewish materials this motif about the transforming substance coming from the head of the celestial creature might not be entirely incomprehensible. For example, in *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 34 one learns that the reviving dew, a rabbinic metaphor for the oil of the resurrection, will come at the eschatological time from the head of the Deity:

> Rabbi Tanchum said: On account of the seed of the earth, when it is commanded, (it) discharges the dew for the resurrection of the dead. From what place does it descend? From the head of the Holy One; for the head of the Holy One, is full of the reviving dew. In the future life the Holy One, will shake His head and cause the quickening dew to descend, as it is said, "I was asleep, but my heart waked ... for my head

[378] Соколов, "Материалы," 123.

> is filled with dew, my locks with the drops of the night" (Song of Songs 5.2).[379]

In another prominent compendium of Jewish mystical traditions this motif about the dew of resurrection coming from the head of God is repeated again. The *Zohar* 1:130b–131a reads:

> And at the time when the Holy One will raise the dead to life He will cause dew to descend upon them from His head. By means of that dew all will rise from the dust.... For the tree of life emanates life unceasingly into the universe. [380]

Both passages about the reviving dew, as well as the tradition found in *2 Enoch* 22, might have their earlier background in Psalm 133:2–3 where the precious oil running down the head (כשמן הטוב על הראש ירד) of Aaron is compared with the dew of the eternal life sent by the Deity. Yet *2 Enoch's* accounts about the oil of anointing appear to emphasize not only the priestly but also the eschatological role of the translated patriarch who is predestined to play an important part in redemption of humanity from the sin of the Protoplast.

The question remains, however, how the traditions about the dew of resurrection coming from the Deity's head are related to the problematic readings postulating that the resurrection oil is coming not from the head of the Lord but instead from the head of Enoch. The confusion between the head of the seer and the Deity's head, God's oil and the oil of Enoch, the glory of the Lord and the glory of the exalted patriarch reflected in Slavonic text, does not appear to be coincidental. It seems to reflect a significant theological tendency of the text where Enoch's heavenly "persona" is understood as the "replica" of the divine *Kavod*, in front of which the visionary was recreated as a heavenly being. The similarities between the two celestial corporealities — the divine *Kavod* and the newly acquired celestial extent of Enoch-Metatron, which in some traditions serves as the measurement of the divine body — have been previously explored in several important studies. This presentation however seeks to address another eschatological dimension in which Enoch's new identity is connected with his new role as the redeemer of humanity who is able to reverse the sin of Adam. Before proceeding to the analysis of this theme in the Slavonic text

---

[379] *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, 260. Tr. by G. Friedländer. New York: Hermon, 1965.

[380] *The Zohar*, vol. 2, 21. Tr. by H. Sperling and M. Simon. London and New York: Soncino, 1933. 5 vols.

and its connection with the Adamic tradition, a short excursus into the later Hekhalot materials is necessary.

Scholars have previously noted that in the additional chapters of *Sefer Hekhalot* Metatron appears to be viewed as a pre-existent being, first incarnated in Adam and then in Enoch, who re-ascends to the protoplast's heavenly home and takes his rightful place in the heights of the universe.[381] *3 Enoch* 48C:1 (§ 72 of Schäfer's edition) reads: "The Holy One, blessed be he, said: I made him strong, I took him, I appointed him, namely Metatron my servant (עבדי), who is unique among all the denizens of the heights.... 'I made him strong' in the generation of the first man (בדורו של אדם הראשון)...."[382]

Scholars have noted that "Enoch here becomes a redeemer figure — a second Adam through whom humanity is restored."[383] This understanding of Enoch-Metatron as Redeemer does not appear to be a later invention of the rabbinic and Hekhalot authors but can be already detected in *2 Slavonic Enoch.*

In chapter 64 of the Slavonic text an "astounding account" can be found which, in the view of one of *2 Enoch's* translators, "could hardly please a Jew or a Christian." The chapter depicts a prostration of "the elders of the people" and "all the community" before Enoch at the place of his second departure to heaven. The people who came to bow down before the patriarch delivered to Enoch the following address:

> O our father, Enoch! May you be blessed by the Lord, the eternal king! And now, bless your sons, and all the people, so that we may be glorified in front of your face today. For you will be glorified in front of the face of the Lord for eternity, because you are the one whom the Lord chose in preference to all the people upon the earth; and he appointed you to be the one who makes a written record of all his creation, visible and invisible, and the one who carried away the sin of humankind (*2 Enoch* 64:4–5).[384]

An important detail in this address is Enoch's designation as "the one who carried away the sin of humankind." This depiction of the patriarch as a redeemer is intriguing. But what kind of sin was Enoch able to carry

---

[381] Alexander, "From Son of Adam," 102–4; Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," 220–40.

[382] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.311; Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 36–7.

[383] Alexander, "From Son of Adam," 111.

[384] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 190.

away? Can it be merely related to Enoch's role as an intercessor for humans at the time of the final judgment?

In this respect it is important that in *2 Enoch* 64 the "elders of the earth" define Enoch, not as the one who will carry away the sin of humankind, but as the one who has already carried away this sin. The emphasis on the already accomplished redemptive act provides an important clue to understanding the kind of sin Enoch was able to erase. The focus here is not on the individual sins of Enoch's descendents but on the primeval sin of humankind. Therefore, it becomes apparent that the redeeming functions of the patriarch are not related to his possible intercession for the sins of his children, the fallen angels or the "elders of the earth." Rather they pertain to the sin of the protoplast which the patriarch was able to "carry away" by his righteousness, ascension, and transformation. Yet Enoch's role in the economy of human salvation is not confined solely to his past encounter of the Face of God. In the Slavonic apocalypse he himself becomes a redeemer who is able to cause the transformation of human subjects. The significant detail of the aforementioned account in chapter 64 that unfolds Enoch's redeeming functions is that the same people who proclaim the patriarch as the redeemer of humanity now also find themselves prostrated before Enoch asking for his blessing so that they may be glorified in front of his face. *2 Enoch* 64 tells:

> And the elders of the people and all the community came and prostrated themselves and kissed Enoch. And they said to him, "O our father, Enoch! May you be blessed by the Lord, the eternal king! And now, bless your sons, and all the people, so that we may be glorified in front of your face today."[385]

This depiction recalls the earlier scene of the patriarch's approach to the *Kavod* in *2 Enoch* 22 where the visionary is depicted as prostrated before the divine Face during his account of transformation. The only difference here is that instead of the divine Face people are now approaching the Face of Enoch. It is intriguing that the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 64 seems to attempt to portray the translated patriarch as a sort of replica or an icon of the divine Face through which humans can access the divine Panim and become glorified:

> And they kissed Enoch, saying, "Blessed is the Lord, the eternal king. Bless now your people, and glorify us to the face of the Lord. For the

---

[385] *2 Enoch* 64:4 (the longer recension). Andersen, "2 Enoch," 190.

> Lord has chosen you, to appoint you to be the one who reveals, who carries away our sins." [386]

In light of these theological developments taking place in the Slavonic apocalypse where the patriarch assumes the role of redeemer whose face is able to glorify human subjects, it is not coincidental that some manuscripts of *2 Enoch* confuse the glory of the Deity with the glory of the patriarch and the oil of the Lord with the oil of Enoch's head. These readings therefore appear to be not simply scribal slips but deliberate theological reworking in which Enoch's oil might be understood as having the same redeeming and transformative value as the oil of the Lord.

---

[386] *2 Enoch* 64:3–4 (the shorter recension). Andersen, "2 Enoch," 191.

In the Mirror of the Divine Face: The Enochic Features of the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian

> "...The Lord of all the worlds warned Moses that he should beware of his face. So it is written, 'Beware of his face' .... This is the prince who is called ... Metatron."
>
> *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* §§ 396–397.

Introduction

One of the important compendiums of Jewish mystical lore, a composition known to scholars as *3 Enoch* or the *Book of the Heavenly Palaces* (*Sefer Hekhalot*) offers a striking re-interpretation of the canonical account of Moses' reception of Torah. In this text the supreme angel Metatron, also associated in *Sefer Hekhalot* with the seventh antediluvian patriarch Enoch, is depicted as the one who reveals Torah to the Israelite prophet by bringing it out of his heavenly storehouses.[387] The account portrays Moses passing the revelation received from Enoch-Metatron to Joshua and other characters of the Israelite history representing the honorable chain of transmissions of the oral law, known to us also from the mishnaic *Pirke Avot*, the *Sayings of the Fathers*. The Hekhalot writer, however, revises the traditional mishnaic arrangement of prophets, rabbis, and sages by placing at the beginning of the chain the figure of Enoch-Metatron, viewed as the initial revealer. This

[387] "Metatron brought Torah out from my storehouses and committed it to Moses, and Moses to Joshua, Joshua to the Elders, the Elders to the Prophets, the Prophets to the Men of the Great Synagogue, the Men of the Great Synagogue to Ezra the Scribe, Ezra the Scribe to Hillel the Elder ...." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 315; *Synopse*, § 80.

choice of the primordial mediator competing with the primacy of Moses is not coincidental and in many ways serves as an important landmark in the long-lasting theological tradition that began many centuries earlier when the Second Temple was still standing. This development points to the theological competition between two heroes, the son of Jared and the son of Amram, which had ancient roots traced to the sacerdotal debates of the Second Temple era.

Recent scholarship has become increasingly cognizant of the complexity of the social, political, and theological climate of the late Second Temple period when the various sacerdotal groups and clans were competing for the primacy and authority of their priestly legacy. This competitive environment created a whole range of ideal mediatorial figures that, along with traditional mediators like Moses, also included other characters of primeval and Israelite history, such as Adam, Abel, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Melchisedek, and Abraham. Scholars now are well aware that in the late Second Temple period the sacerdotal legacy of Mosaic revelation came under fierce attack from various mediatorial trends that sought to offer a viable ideological alternative to the Mosaic stream through speculation on the pre-Mosaic protological traditions. One such development, which has its roots in the early Enochic materials, tried to portray the seventh antediluvian patriarch as the custodian of the more ancient cultic revelation that had existed long before Moses. In this rival paradigm Enoch was depicted as an ancient mediator who received from God revelations superior to those received many centuries later by the son of Amram in the wilderness. The use of such a protological figure as Enoch does not seem coincidental since this primeval hero had been endowed with divine disclosures long before the Israelite prophet received his revelation and sacerdotal prescriptions on Mount Sinai. It is apparent that the circumstances surrounding the patriarch's reception of revelation described in the Second Temple Enochic booklets were much loftier than the circumstances of the Mosaic encounter in the biblical narrative. While Moses received Torah from the Lord on earth, the Enochic hero acquired his revelation in the celestial realm, instructed there by angels and God. In the biblical account the Lord descends to Moses' realm to convey his revelation to the seer, while Enoch is able to ascend to the divine abode and behold the Throne of Glory. The advantage here is clearly on the side of the Enochic hero.

Within the context of an ongoing competition, such a challenge could not remain unanswered by custodians of the Mosaic tradition. The nonbiblical Mosaic lore demonstrates clear intentions of enhancing the exalted

profile of its hero. This tendency detectable in the non-biblical Mosaic materials, of course, was not provoked solely by the rival Enochic developments, but rather was facilitated by the presence of a whole range of competitive exalted figures prominent in Second Temple Judaism. Still, the challenge of the pseudepigraphic Enoch to the biblical Moses cannot be underestimated, since the patriarch was the possessor of an alternative esoteric revelation reflected in the body of extensive literature that claimed its supremacy over Mosaic Torah.[388]

The aforementioned set of initial disadvantages in the fierce rivalry might explain why the Mosaic tradition, in its dialogue with Enochic lore and other Second Temple mediatorial developments, could not rest on its laurels but had to develop further and adjust the story of its character, investing him with an angelic and even divine status comparable to the elevated status of the rivals.

One of the significant early testimonies of this polemical interaction between Mosaic and Enochic traditions has survived as a part of the drama *Exagoge*, a writing attributed to Ezekiel the Tragedian that depicts the prophet's experience at Sinai as his celestial enthronement. The text seeks to enhance the features of the biblical Moses and attribute to him some familiar qualities of the exalted figure of the seventh antediluvian patriarch Enoch. Preserved in fragmentary form in Eusebius of Caesarea's[389] *Praeparatio evangelica*[390], *Exagoge* 67–90 reads:

---

[388] On the interaction between Enochic and Mosaic traditions, see: Alexander, "From Son of Adam," 102–11; idem, "Enoch and the Beginnings of Jewish Interest in Natural Science." In Hempel, C., et al., eds. *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiental Thought*, 223–43. BETL, 159. Leuven: Peeters, 2002; Boccaccini, G. *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways Between Qumran and Enochic Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998; Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 254–303; VanderKam, J. *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*. Columbia: South Carolina, 1995; idem, "The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch." In Flint, P. W., and T. H. Kim, eds. *The Bible at Qumran*, 129–48. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.

[389] Eusebius preserves the seventeen fragments containing 269 iambic trimeter verses. Unfortunately, the limited scope of our investigation does not allow us to reflect on the broader context of Moses' dream in the *Exagoge*.

[390] The Greek text of the passage was published in several editions including: Denis, A.-M. *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca*, 210. PVTG, 3. Leiden: Brill, 1970; Snell, B. *Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta I*, 288–301. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971; Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*, 54; Holladay, *Fragments*, 362–6; Lanfranchi, *L'Exagoge d'Ezéchiel le Tragique*, 101–283.

> Moses: I had a vision of a great throne on the top of Mount Sinai and it reached till the folds of heaven. A noble man was sitting on it, with a crown and a large scepter in his left hand. He beckoned to me with his right hand, so I approached and stood before the throne. He gave me the scepter and instructed me to sit on the great throne. Then he gave me a royal crown and got up from the throne. I beheld the whole earth all around and saw beneath the earth and above the heavens. A multitude of stars fell before my knees and I counted them all. They paraded past me like a battalion of men. Then I awoke from my sleep in fear.
>
> Raguel: My friend (ὦ ξένε), this is a good sign from God. May I live to see the day when these things are fulfilled. You will establish a great throne, become a judge and leader of men. As for your vision of the whole earth, the world below and that above the heavens — this signifies that you will see what is, what has been and what shall be.[391]

Wayne Meeks observes that, given its quotation by Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 80–40 B.C.E.), this Mosaic account can be taken as a witness to traditions of the second century B.C.E.[392] Several characteristics of the narrative suggest that its author was familiar with Enochic traditions and tried to attribute some features of the story of the seventh antediluvian hero to Moses.[393] This article will investigate the possible connections between the *Exagoge* and the Enochic tradition.

ONEIROMANTIC DREAMS

In the study of the Enochic features of the *Exagoge*, one must examine the literary form of this account. The first thing that catches the eye here is that the Sinai encounter is now fashioned not as a real life experience "in a body," as it was originally presented in the biblical accounts, but as a dream-vision.[394] This oneiromantic perspective of the narrative immediately brings to mind the Enochic dreams-visions,[395] particularly *1 Enoch* 14,

---

[391] Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*, 54–5.

[392] Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 149. See also Holladay, *Fragments*, vol. 2, 308–12.

[393] Alexander, Gutman, Holladay, Meeks, Robertson, Ruffatto, and van der Horst point to various Enochic parallels in the *Exagoge*. For a preliminary analysis of the "Enochic" features of the *Exagoge*, see also Orlov, "Ex 33 on God's Face," 142–3; idem, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 262–8.

[394] The text unambiguously points to the fact that Moses acquired his vision in a dream. In the *Exagoge* 82 the seer testified that he awoke from his sleep in fear.

[395] Scholars have previously noted that already in early Enochic materials the patriarch is depicted as an oneiromantic practitioner who receives his revelations in dreams. Thus, when in the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 13:7–9a),

in which the patriarch's vision of the *Kavod* is fashioned as an oneiromantic experience.[396]

Additional proof that Moses' dream is oneiromantic in form and nature is Raguel's interpretation, which in the *Exagoge* follows immediately after Moses' dream-vision. The interpretation represents a standard feature of a mantic dream where the content of the received dream must be explained by an oneirocritic. Raguel serves here as such an oneirocritic — he discerns the message of the dream, telling the recipient (Moses) that his vision was positive.

It is also significant that the dream about the Sinai encounter in the *Exagoge* is fashioned as a vision of the forthcoming event, an anticipation of the future glorious status and deeds of Moses. This prophetic perspective is very common for Enochic accounts where the Sinai event is often depicted as a future event in order to maintain the antediluvian perspective of the narration. Thus, in the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 Enoch* 85–90) Enoch receives a disclosure in his dream in which primeval and Israelite history is

---

Enoch describes one of his dream experiences, it vividly recalls the model often attested in similar cases of oneiromantic practices. The text reads: "And I went and sat down by the waters of Dan in Dan which is south-west of Hermon; and I read out the record of their petition until I fell asleep. And behold a dream came to me, and vision fell upon me, and I saw a vision of wrath...." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 1, 45, and vol. 2, 94. Other booklets of *1 Enoch* also attest to the patriarch's visions as mantic dreams. Thus, when in *1 Enoch* 83 and 85, the seventh antediluvian patriarch describes his revelations, the text makes explicit that these visions are received in dreams. These passages also point to the fact that Enoch's oneiromantic experiences occurred throughout his lifetime, possibly even from his early days, which the seer spent in the house of his grandfather Malalel. Later developments of this tradition reflected in the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Book of Giants* also highlight dreams as important media for the patriarch's revelations. Thus, *Jub* 4:19 alludes to a vision that Enoch received in a sleep-dream in which he saw all the history of humankind until its eschatological consummation: "While he [Enoch] slept he saw in a vision what has happened and what will occur — how things will happen for mankind during their history until the day of judgment." VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, vol. 2, 26–7.

[396] Although dreams are not uncommon in classic Greek drama, the content of the dream–vision suggests a Jewish rather than Greek background. On the use of dreams in Greek drama in connection with the *Exagoge*, see: Starobinski-Safran, "Un poète judéo-hellénistique," 216–24; Jacobson, "Mysticism," 273–93; Holladay, *Fragments*, vol. 2, 437; Lanfranchi, "Moses' Vision," 56.

unfolded through distinctive symbolic descriptions involving zoomorphic imagery. In the course of the unfolding revelation Enoch beholds the vision of the sheep ascending on the lofty rock which, in the zoomorphic code of the *Animal Apocalypse,* symbolizes the future ascent of the Israelite prophet on Mount Sinai to receive Torah from God.

HEAVENLY ASCENT

Another Enochic detail of the *Exagoge* is that Moses' ascension in a dream allows him not simply to travel to the top of the earthly mountain but, in imitation of the seventh antediluvian hero, to transcend the *orbis terrarum*, accessing the various extraterrestrial realms that include the regions "beneath the earth and above the heavens." The ascension vividly recalls the early Enochic journeys in dreams-visions to the upper heavens, as well as the lower regions, learning about the upcoming judgment of the sinners.[397] This profile of Moses as a traveler above and beneath the earth is unknown in biblical accounts and most likely comes from the early Enochic conceptual developments.

It should be noted that the imagery of celestial travel to the great throne on the mountain recalls Enoch's journeys in the *Book of the Watchers* to the cosmic mountain, a site of the great throne of the divine *Kavod.*[398] Scholars have previously noted terminological similarities in the throne language between the Enochic accounts and the *Exagoge.*[399]

ANGELUS INTERPRES

The visionary account of the prophet, which is now fashioned as a celestial journey, also seems to require the presence of another character appropri-

---

[397] See, for example, *1 Enoch* 17–18.

[398] The imagery of the divine throne situated on the mountain is widespread in the *Book of the Watchers* and can be found, for example, in *1 Enoch* 18:6–8 "And I went towards the south — and it was burning day and night — where (there were) seven mountains of precious stones.... And the middle one reached to heaven, like the throne of the Lord, of stibium, and the top of the throne (was) of sapphire;" *1 Enoch* 24:3 "And (there was) a seventh mountain in the middle of these, and in their height they were all like the seat of a throne, and fragrant trees surrounded it;" *1 Enoch* 25:3 "And he answered me, saying: 'This high mountain which you saw, whose summit is like the throne of the Lord, is the throne where the Holy and Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit when he comes down to visit the earth for good.'" Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 104, 113.

[399] Holladay, *Fragments*, vol. 2, 440.

ate in such settings, the *angelus interpres*, whose role is to assist the seer in understanding the upper reality. This new visionary dimension appears to be reflected in the figure of Raguel.[400] His striking interpretive omniscience recalls the expertise of the angel Uriel of the Enochic accounts, who was able to help the seventh antedeluvian patriarch overcome initial fear and discern the proper meaning of the revealed things.[401] That Raguel might be understood as a supernatural helper in the *Exagoge* is shown in his role of a direct participant in the vision whose knowledge of the disclosed things, rather unexpectedly, surpasses that of the seer and allows him to initiate the visionary into the hidden meaning of the revealed reality.

Another fact suggesting that Raguel might be an angelic interpreter is that it is very unusual in Jewish traditions that a non-Jew interprets dreams of a Jew. Howard Jacobson observes that "in the Bible nowhere does a non-Jew interpret a symbolic dream for a Jew.... Such dreams when dreamt by Jews are usually assumed to be understood by the dreamer (e.g. Joseph's dreams) or else are interpreted by some divine authority (e.g. Daniel 8)."[402] It is however not uncommon for a heavenly being to discern the proper meaning of an Israelite's visions. It is therefore possible that Raguel is envisioned here as a celestial, not a human, interpreter.

In light of these considerations, it is possible that Raguel's address, which occupies the last part of the account, can be seen, at least structurally, as a continuation of the previous vision. One detail that might support such an arrangement is that in the beginning of his interpretation Raguel calls Moses ξένος,[403] a Greek term which can be rendered in English as "guest."[404] Such an address might well be interpreted here as an angel's address to a human visitor attending the upper celestial realm which is normally alien to him.

---

[400] On the figure of Raguel as a possible angelic interpreter, see also Ruffatto, "Raguel."

[401] *Exagoge* 82: "Then I awoke from my sleep in fear." The awaking of a seer from a vision-dream in fear is a common motif in the Enochic literature. See *1 Enoch* 83:6–7; 90:41–42; *2 Enoch* 1:6–7 (shorter recension).

[402] Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*, 92.

[403] Jacobson and Robertson render the Greek word ξένος as "friend."

[404] Robertson suggests this rendering as one of the possible options. He writes that "in addition to the more common meaning of the term, there are various levels of usage, among which is the meaning 'guest.'" Robertson, "Ezekiel the Tragedian," 812, note d2. See also Holladay, *Fragments*, vol. 2, 446.

ESOTERIC KNOWLEDGE

It has already been noted that the polemics between the Mosaic and the Enochic tradition revolved around the primacy and supremacy of revealed knowledge. The author of the *Exagoge* appears to challenge the prominent esoteric status of Enochic lore and the patriarch's role as an expert in secrets by underlining the esoteric character of Mosaic revelation and the prophet's superiority in the mysteries of heaven and earth. In *Exagoge* 85 Raguel tells the seer that his vision of the world below and above signifies that he will see what is, what has been, and what shall be.[405] Wayne Meeks notes the connection of this statement of Raguel with the famous expression "what is above and what is below; what is before and what is behind; what was and what will be," which was a standard designation for knowledge belonging to the esoteric lore.[406] Meeks draws attention[407] to *m.* Hag. 2:1 where the prohibition of discussing the esoteric lore,[408] including the Account of the Creation (מעשה בראשית) and the Account of the Chariot (מעשה מרכבה), is expressed through the following formula that closely resembles the description found in the *Exagoge*: "Whosoever gives his mind to four things it was better for him if he had not come into the world — what is above? what is beneath? what was beforetime? and what will be hereafter."[409]

It is possible that the formulae expressed in *m.* Hag. 2:1 and the *Exagoge* 85 might have their early roots in the Enochic lore where the patriarch's mediation of esoteric knowledge encompasses the important spatial dimensions of the realms above and beneath the earth as well as the temporal boundaries of the antediluvian and eschatological times.[410] In the Enochic

---

[405] Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*, 54–55.

[406] *Sifre Zutta* 84. See also *3 Enoch* 10:5; 11:3.

[407] Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 208. See also van der Horst, "Moses' Throne Vision," 28; Fletcher-Louis, C. "4Q374: A Discourse on the Sinai Tradition: The Deification of Moses and Early Christology." *DSD* 3 (1996): 236–52, esp. 246.

[408] Scholem, *Major Trends*, 74.

[409] Danby, H. *The Mishnah*, 213. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

[410] The patriarch's mediating duties comprise a whole range of spatial and chronological dimensions. His functions as mediator are not confined to a particular realm or a particular petitioner, since his clients include a range of divine, angelic, human, and composite creatures situated in the underworld as well as in heaven. In the *Book of the Watchers* faithful angels of heaven ask him to assist their brethren in the lower realm. In the same text he mediates on behalf of the rebellious group which includes the fallen Watchers and the

materials one can also find some designations of esoteric knowledge that might constitute the original background of the later mishnaic formulae. Thus, in the section of the *Book of the Similitudes* (*1 Enoch* 59–60) dealing with the secrets of the heavenly phenomena, the *angelus interpres* reveals to Enoch the secret that is "first and last in heaven, in the heights, and under the dry ground" (*1 Enoch* 60:11).[411] These enigmatic formulations pertaining to the patriarch's role as a possesor of esoteric wisdom[412] would never be forgotten in the Enochic lore and could be found even in the later rabbinic compositions dealing with the afterlife of the seventh antediluvian hero, including the already mentioned *Sefer Hekhalot*,[413] which would depict

---

Giants. Enoch's mediating activities are also not limited by specific chronological boundaries. He mediates in the generation of the Flood, but he is also expected to be a mediator and a witness of divine judgment in the eschatological period. It appears that the patriarch is predestined to mediate judgment in two significant temporal loci. One of them is the historical locus associated with the generation of the Flood; in this locale Enoch acts as an intercessor and a writer of testimonies to the Watchers, Giants and humans. The second locus is eschatological and involves Enoch's future role as witness of eschatological divine judgment.

[411] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 144.

[412] On the role of the seventh antediluvian hero as an expert in the esoteric lore, see: Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 31–4; 48–50; 101–4; 188–200.

[413] Although many distinguished students of Jewish mystical traditions tried to demonstrate the conceptual links between the *Exagoge* and some Hekhalot materials, including *3 Enoch*, Pierluigi Lanfranchi in his recent studies offered his criticism of these scholarly endevours. He remarks that "...despite these attractive speculations on the *merkavah*, there are profound differences between the text of Ezekiel the Tragedian and the mystic literature. The most obvious is the length of the description of the throne. In *3 Enoch*, based on the first chapter of the book of Ezekiel, it is rich in detail and extends over several chapters, while in the Exagoge, it is sober and concise and occupies only a few verses. The interests of the author composing his tragedy are obvious not the same as the preoccupations of the authors of the mystical texts of the *Hekhalot*. From a methodological point of view, it is risky to combine two texts that share the same subject (the vision of the divine throne), but spring from a different tradition and are separated by at least six centuries." Lanfranchi, "Moses' Vision," 55. See also idem, *L'Exagoge d'Ezéchiel le Tragique*, 184–185. I hope that our study will help to answer some of Lanfranchi's criticism by further demonstrating the common "Enochic" roots of traditions found in the *Exagoge* and *3 Enoch*.

Enoch-Metatron instructed by God in "the wisdom of those above and of those below, the wisdom of this world and of the world to come."[414]

In light of the passage found in the *Exagoge*, it is possible that its author, who shows familiarity with the earlier form of the Mishnaic formula, attempts to fashion the Mosaic revelation as an esoteric tradition, similar to the Enochic lore.[415]

HEAVENLY COUNTERPART

The placement of Moses on the great throne in the *Exagoge* account[416] and his donning of the royal regalia have often been interpreted by scholars as

---

[414] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 264.

[415] The insistence of some extra-biblical Mosaic accounts on the fact that the prophet ascended to heaven might be directed towards constructing the Mosaic disclosure as an esoteric tradition in order to secure the superiority of his revelation. Wayne Meeks observes that "the most common function of ascension stories in literature of the period and milieu we are considering is a guarantee of esoteric tradition. In the apocalyptic genre the ascension of the 'prophet' or of the ancient worthy in whose name the book is written is an almost invariable introduction to the description of the secrets which the ascendant one 'saw.' The secrets, therefore, whose content may vary from descriptions of the cosmic and political events anticipated at the end of days to cosmological details, are declared to be of heavenly origin, not mere earthly wisdom. This pattern is the clear sign of a community which regards its own esoteric lore as inaccessible to ordinary reason but belonging to a higher order of truth. It is clear beyond dispute that this is one function which the traditions of Moses' ascension serves." Meeks adds that in the later rabbinic accounts "the notion that Moses received cosmological secrets led to elaborate descriptions of his 'heavenly journeys,' very similar to those attributed elsewhere to Enoch." Meeks, "Moses as God and King," 367–8.

[416] The imagery of Moses' enthronement is not confined solely to the *Exagoge* account but can be found also in other extra-biblical materials. Thus, Crispin Fletcher-Louis draws attention to a parallel in the Jewish *Orphica*: an exalted figure, apparently Moses, is also placed on the celestial throne. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 137; Lafargue, M. "Orphica." In *OTP*, vol. 2, 796–7. *Orphica* 26–41 reads: "...a certain unique man, an offshoot from far back of the race of the Chaldeans ... yes he after this is established in the great heaven on a golden throne. He stands with his feet on the earth. He stretches out his right hand to the ends of the ocean. The foundation of the mountains trembles within at [his] anger, and the depths of the gray sparkling sea. They cannot endure the mighty power. He is entirely heavenly, and he brings everything to completion on earth, being 'the beginning, the middle, and the end,' as the saying of the ancients, as the one water-

the prophet's occupation of the seat of the Deity. Pieter van der Horst remarks that in the *Exagoge* Moses become "an anthropomorphic hypostasis of God himself."[417] The uniqueness of the motif of God's vacating the throne and transferring occupancy to someone else has puzzled scholars for a long time.[418] An attempt to deal with this enigma by bringing in the imagery of the vice-regent does not, in my judgment, completely solve the problem. The vice-regents in Jewish traditions (for example, Metatron) do not normally occupy God's throne but instead have their own glorious chair, which sometimes serves as a replica of the divine Seat. It seems that the enigmatic identification of the prophet with the divine Form can be best explained not through the concept of a vice-regent but through the notion of a heavenly twin or counterpart. Before investigating this concept in the *Exagoge,* we need to provide some background for this tradition in Enochic materials.

Scholars have previously observed[419] that Chapter 71 of the *Book of Similitudes* seems to entertain the idea of the heavenly twin of a visionary in identifying Enoch with the son of man, an enthroned messianic figure.[420] For a long time scholars have found it puzzling that the son of man, distinguished in the previous chapters of the *Similitudes* from Enoch, is suddenly identified with the patriarch in *1 Enoch* 71. James VanderKam suggests that this paradox can be explained by the Jewish notion, attested in several ancient Jewish texts, that a creature of flesh and blood could have a heav-

---

born has described it, the one who received [revelations] from God in aphorisms, in the form of a double law...." Lafargue, "Orphica," 799–800.

[417] van der Horst. "Some Notes," 364.

[418] van der Horst, "Moses' Throne Vision," 25; Holladay, *Fragments*, 444.

[419] See VanderKam, "Righteous One," 182–3; Knibb, "Messianism," 177–80; Fossum, *The Image*, 144–5; Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts*, 151. On a heavenly double see also Bousset, W. *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, 324. 3d ed. HNT, 21. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1966; Orlov, "The Face as the Heavenly Counterpart"; idem, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 165–76.

[420] It is important to note that in the *Similitudes*, the son of man is depicted as the one seated on the Throne of Glory. See *1 Enoch* 62:5, *1 Enoch* 69:29. Jarl Fossum observes that "in the 'Similitudes' the 'Elect One' or 'Son of Man' who is identified as the patriarch Enoch, is enthroned upon the 'throne of glory.' If 'glory' does not qualify the throne but its occupant, Enoch is actually identified with the Glory of God". Fossum further suggests that "... the 'Similitudes of Enoch' present an early parallel to the targumic description of Jacob being seated upon the 'throne of glory.'" Fossum, *The Image*, 145.

enly double or counterpart.[421] As an example, VanderKam points to Jacob's traditions in which the patriarch's "features are engraved on high."[422] He observes that the theme of the visionary's ignorance of his higher celestial identity is also detectable in the pseudepigraphic text the *Prayer of Joseph* where Jacob is identified with his heavenly counterpart, the angel Israel. VanderKam's reference to Jacob's lore is not coincidental. Conceptions of the heavenly image or counterpart of a seer take their most consistent form in Jacob's traditions.[423]

In view of the aforementioned traditions about the heavenly twins of Enoch and Jacob, it is possible that the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian also attests to the idea of a heavenly counterpart of the seer when it identifies Moses with the glorious anthropomorphic extent. We may recall that the text depicts Moses' vision of "a noble man" with a crown and a large scepter in the left hand installed on a great throne. In the course of the seer's initiation, the attributes of the "noble man," including the royal crown and the scepter, are transferred to Moses who is instructed to sit on the throne formerly occupied by the noble man. The visionary is clearly identified with his heavenly counterpart in the narrative, in the course of which the seer literally takes the place and the attributes of his upper iden-

---

[421] VanderKam, "Righteous One," 182–3.

[422] The metaphor of "engraving" on the *Kavod* might signify here that the seer's identity became reflected in the divine Face, as in a mirror.

[423] Besides the biblical account the traditions concerning Jacob's celestial double are also presented in the pseudepigraphical materials such as the *Prayer of Joseph* and the *Ladder of Jacob* and in several targumic texts, including *Tg. Ps.-J.*, *Tg. Neof.*, and *Frg. Tg.* In *Tg. Ps.-J.* to Gen 28:12 the following description can be found: "He [Jacob] had a dream, and behold, a ladder was fixed in the earth with its top reaching toward the heavens ... and on that day they (angels) ascended to the heavens on high, and said, 'Come and see Jacob the pious, whose image is fixed (engraved) in the Throne of Glory, and whom you have desired to see.'" *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, 99–100. A distinctive feature of this description is that the heavenly counterpart of Jacob, his "image," is engraved on the Throne of Glory. Engraving on the Throne indicates here an association with the *Kavod* since the Throne is the central part of the *Kavod* imagery — the seat of the anthropomorphic Glory of the Lord. Besides the tradition of engraving on the Throne, some Jewish materials point to an even more radical identification of Jacob's image with the *Kavod*. Jarl Fossum's research demonstrates that in some traditions about Jacob, his image or likeness is depicted, not simply as engraved on the heavenly throne, but as seated upon the throne of glory. Fossum argues that this second tradition is original. See Fossum, *The Image*, 139–42.

tity. The account also underlines that Moses acquired his vision in a dream, by reporting that he awoke from his sleep in fear. Here, just as in the Jacob tradition, while the seer is sleeping on earth his counterpart in the upper realm is identified with the *Kavod*.[424]

Stars and Fallen Angels

The *Exagoge* depicts Moses as a counter of the stars. The text also seems to put great emphasis on the prophet's interaction with the celestial bodies that fell before Moses' knees and even paraded past him like a battalion of men. Such "astronomical" encounters are unknown in the biblical Mosaic accounts. At the same time the preoccupation of the seventh antediluvian patriarch with astronomical and cosmological calculations and lore is well known and constitutes a major subject of his revelations in the earliest Enochic booklets, such as the *Astronomical Book* and the *Book of the Watchers*, in which the patriarch is depicted as the counter of stars.[425] The later Enochic and Merkabah materials also demonstrate that the patriarch's expertise in counting and measuring celestial and earthly phenomena becomes a significant conceptual avenue for his future exaltation as an omniscient viceregent of the Deity[426] who knows and exercises authority over the "orders of creations."[427]

The depiction of stars *falling* before Moses' knees also seems relevant for the subject of this investigation, especially in view of the symbolism

---

[424] It cannot be excluded though that the *Exagoge* authors might have known the traditions of the patriarch's enthronement in heaven, similar to those reflected in the *Similitudes*. Also it cannot be excluded that the Mesopotamian proto-Enochic traditions, in which the prototype of Enoch, the king Enmeduranki, was installed on a throne in the assembly of gods, might have influenced the imagery found in the *Exagoge*. Pieter van der Horst in his analysis of the *Exagoge* entertains the possibility that "... in pre-Christian times there were (probably rival) traditions about Enoch and Moses as *synthronoi theou*; and ... these ideas were suppressed (for obvious reasons) by the rabbis." van der Horst, "Moses' Throne Vision," 27.

[425] *1 Enoch* 33:2–4.

[426] See *Synopse*, § 66 (*3 Enoch* 46:1–2).

[427] See *2 Enoch* 40:2–4: "I know everything, and everything I have written down in books, the heavens and their boundaries and their contents. And all the armies and their movements I have measured. And I have recorded the stars and the multitude of multitudes innumerable. What human being can see their circles and their phases? For not even the angels know their number. But I have written down all their names...." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 164.

found in some Enochic booklets where the fallen angels are often portrayed as stars. Thus, for example, the already mentioned *Animal Apocalypse* depicts the descent of the Watchers as the vision of stars falling down from heaven: "... I saw heaven above, and behold, a star fell from heaven ... and again I saw in the vision and looked at heaven, and behold, I saw many stars, how they came down...." (*1 Enoch* 86).[428]

If we assume that in the *Exagoge* stars indeed signify angels and even more precisely *fallen* angels, the vision of the fallen angels genuflecting before Moses' feet might again invoke the memory of some Enochic developments since the motif of angelic veneration of a seer by the fallen angels plays a significant role in some Enochic materials. The memory of this important motif is present even in the later "Enochic" compositions of the rabbinic period, for example in *Sefer Hekhalot* where the following tradition of Enoch's veneration by the fallen angels can be found:

> R. Ishmael said: I said to Metatron: "... You are greater than all the princes, more exalted than all the angels, more beloved than all the ministers ... why, then, do they call you 'Youth' in the heavenly heights?" He answered, "Because I am Enoch, the son of Jared ... the Holy One, blessed be he, appointed me in the height as a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels. Then three of the ministering angels, Uzza, Azza, and Azael, came and laid charges against me in the heavenly height. They said before the Holy One, blessed be He, 'Lord of the Universe, did not the primeval ones give you good advice when they said, Do not create man!' ... And once they all arose and went to meet me and prostrated themselves before me, saying 'Happy are you, and happy your parents, because your Creator has favored you.' Because I am young in their company and mere youth among them in days and months and years — therefore they call me 'Youth'." *Synopse* §§5–6. [429]

It is striking that in this passage Enoch-Metatron is venerated by angelic beings whose names (Uzza, Azza, and Azael) are reminiscent of the names of the notorious leaders of the fallen angels found in the early Enochic lore that are rendered by the zoomorphic code of the *Animal Apocalypse* as the stars. The tradition of angelic veneration has rather early roots in the Enochic lore and can be found in *2 Enoch* 22 where the patriarch's transformation into the heavenly counterpart, like in the *Exagoge*, is accompanied by angelic veneration. In this account the Lord invites Enoch

---

[428] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 196–7.

[429] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 258–59.

to stand forever before his Face. In the course of this initiation the Deity orders the angels of heaven to venerate the patriarch.[430]

Another account of angelic veneration is found in *2 Enoch* 7 where the patriarch is venerated not simply by celestial angels but the *fallen* ones. *2 Enoch* 7:3 depicts Enoch carried by angels to the second heaven. There the patriarch sees the condemned angels kept as prisoners awaiting the "measureless judgment." Enoch's angelic guides explain to him that the prisoners are "those who turned away from the Lord, who did not obey the Lord's commandments, but of their own will plotted together and turned away with their prince and with those who are under restraint in the fifth heaven."[431] The story continues with angelic veneration. The condemned angels bow down to Enoch asking for his intercession: "Man of God, pray for us to the Lord!"[432]

It should be noted that, although the motif of angelic veneration has its roots in the Adamic lore,[433] the theme of veneration by the fallen angels might be a peculiar Enochic development. Moreover, it seems that the initial traits of this theological development in which the fallen angels "fall before the knees" of the seventh antediluvian patriarch can be already found in the earliest Enochic booklets, including the *Book of the Watchers* where the fallen Watchers approach the patriarch begging him for help and intersession.

Transformation of the Seer's Face

In the Second Temple Jewish materials the transformation of a seer into his heavenly counterpart often involves the change of his bodily appearance. It

---

[430] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 138.

[431] Ibid., 114.

[432] Ibid.

[433] On the Adamic background of the motif of angelic veneration, see Stone, "The Fall of Satan," *JTS* 44 (1993): 143–56; Anderson, G. "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan." In Anderson, G., M. Stone, and J. Tromp, eds. *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays*, 83–110. SVTP, 15. Brill: Leiden, 2000; Orlov, A. "On the Polemical Nature of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch: A Reply to C. Bottrich." *JSJ* 34 (2003): 274–303. On the motif of angelic veneration in rabbinic literature see, also Altmann, A. "The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends." *JQR* 35 (1945): 371–91; Barc, "La taille cosmique d'Adam," 173–85; Fossum, "The Adorable Adam," 529–39; Quispel, G. "Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition." *Eranos Jahrbuch* 22 (1953): 195–234; idem, "Ezekiel 1:26," 1–13; Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, 108–15.

may happen even in a dream as, for example, in the *Similitudes'* account of the heavenly counterpart where, although Enoch's journey was "in spirit," his "body was melted" and, as a result, he acquired the identity of the son of man.[434] A similar change of the visionary's identity might be also discernible in the *Exagoge* where the already mentioned designation of Moses as ξένος occurs. Besides the meanings of "friend" and "guest," this Greek word also can be translated as "stranger."[435] If the *Exagoge* authors indeed had in mind this meaning of ξένος, it might well be related to the fact that Moses' face or his body underwent some sort of transformation that altered his previous physical appearance and made him appear as a stranger to Raguel. The motif of Moses' altered identity after his encounter with the *Kavod* is reflected not only in Exod 34 but also in extra-biblical Mosaic accounts, including the tradition found in Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 12:1. The passage tells that the Israelites failed to recognize Moses after his glorious metamorphosis on Mount Sinai:

> Moses came down. (Having been bathed with light that could not be gazed upon, he had gone down to the place where the light of the sun and the moon are. The light of his face surpassed the splendor of the sun and the moon, but he was unaware of this). When he came down to the children of Israel, upon seeing him they did not recognize him. But when he had spoken, then they recognized him.[436]

The motif of the shining countenance of Moses is important for our ongoing discussion of the polemics between Enochic and Mosaic traditions that were striving to enhance the profiles of their main characters with features borrowed from the hero of the rival trend. This distinctive mark of the Israelite prophet's identity, his glorious face, which served in Biblical accounts as the undeniable proof of his encounter with God, later became appropriated in the framework of Enochic[437] and Meta-

---

[434] *1 Enoch* 71:11.

[435] Robertson points to this possibility. Robertson, "Ezekiel the Tragedian," 812, note d2.

[436] Jacobson, H. *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum with Latin Text and English Translation*, vol. 1, 110. AGAJU, 31. Leiden: Brill, 1996. 2 vols.

[437] In *2 Enoch* the motif of the luminous face of the seer was transferred for the first time to the seventh antediluvian patriarch. The text tells that the vision of the divine Face had dramatic consequences for Enoch's appearance. His body endures radical changes as it becomes covered with the divine light. In Enoch's radiant metamorphosis before the divine Countenance, an impor-

tron[438] traditions as the chief distinguishing feature of the Enochic hero. In this new development Moses' shining face became nothing more than the later imitation of the glorious countenance of Enoch-Metatron. Thus, in *Sefer Hekhalot* 15B, Enoch-Metatron tells Moses about his shining visage: "Son of Amram, fear not! for already God favors you. Ask what you will with confidence and boldness, for light shines from the skin of your face from one end of the world to the other."[439]

Here, as in the case of very few distinctive visionaries who were predestined to encounter their heavenly counterparts and to behold the divine Face like their own reflection in a mirror, Moses too finds out that his luminous face is a reflection of the glorious face of the Deity. Yet, there is one important difference: this divine Face is now represented by his long-lasting contender, Enoch-Metatron.[440]

---

tant detail can be found which links Enoch's transformation with Moses' account in the Book of Exodus. In *2 Enoch* 37 one learns about the unusual procedure performed on Enoch's face at the final stage of his encounter with the Lord. The text informs us that the Lord called one of his senior angels to chill the face of Enoch. The text says that the angel was "terrifying and frightful," and appeared frozen; he was as white as snow, and his hands were as cold as ice. With these cold hands he then chilled the patriarch's face. Right after this chilling procedure, the Lord informs Enoch that if his face had not been chilled here, no human being would have been able to look at him. This reference to the dangerous radiance of Enoch's face after his encounter with the Lord is an apparent parallel to the incandescent face of Moses after the Sinai experience in Exodus 34.

[438] *Synopse*, § 19 (*3 Enoch* 15:1) depicts the radiant metamorphosis of Enoch–Metatron's face: "When the Holy One, blessed be he, took me to serve the throne of glory, the wheels of the chariot and all the needs of the Shekinah, at once my flesh turned to flame, my sinews to blazing fire, my bones to juniper coals, my eyelashes to lightning flashes, my eyeballs to fiery torches, the hairs of my head to hot flames, all my limbs to wings of burning fire, and the substance of my body to blazing fire." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 267.

[439] *3 Enoch* 15B:5. Alexander, "3 Enoch," 304.

[440] Scholars have observed that in the Merkabah tradition Metatron is explicitly identified as the hypostatic Face of God. On Metatron as the hypostatic Face of God, see De Conick, "Heavenly Temple Traditions," 329; Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 424–5.

Part II:
The Divine Name Traditions

Praxis of the Voice: The Divine Name Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*

Introduction

A large portion of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, a Jewish work known only in its Slavonic translation, deals with the celestial tour of the eponymous hero of the text. In the work's elaborate account of the tour, which depicts Abraham's initiation into the heavenly mysteries, an important detail often found in other apocalyptic texts is missing. The authors of the Slavonic work seem to deliberately eschew anthropomorphic depictions of the Deity that often mark climatic points in other early Jewish apocalyptic accounts. This reluctance in endorsing traditions of the divine Form appears to be quite unusual, given that other features of the pseudepigraphon exhibit explicit allusions to motifs and themes of the Merkabah tradition. Several distinguished scholars of early Jewish mysticism have previously noted that the *Apocalypse of Abraham* might represent one of the earliest specimens of Merkabah mysticism, the Jewish tradition in which the divine Form ideology arguably receives its most advanced articulation.[441] Yet de-

[441] On the Jewish mystical traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, see: Box, G. H., and J. I. Landsman. *The Apocalypse of Abraham. Edited, with a Translation from the Slavonic Text and Notes*, xxix–xxx. TED, 1.10. London/New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918; Dean-Otting, M. *Heavenly Journeys: A Study of the Motif in Hellenistic Jewish Literature*, 251–3. Judentum und Umwelt, 8. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1984; Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 55–6; Flusser, D. "Psalms, Hymns and Prayers." In Stone, M. E., ed. *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, 551–77, esp. 565. CRINT 2/2. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984; Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 83ff. Philonenko-Sayar, B., and M. Philonenko. *L'Apocalypse*

spite many suggestive allusions in their depiction of the heavenly realities, the authors of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* appear very reluctant to endorse one of the most crucial tenets in the divine Chariot lore: the anthropomorphic depiction of the Glory of God. The reluctance seems rather puzzling in view of some close similarities in angelological imagery that the *Apocalypse of Abraham* shares with the first chapter of the book of Ezekiel, the formative account of the Merkabah tradition, where the ideology of the divine Form looms large.[442]

It has been previously noted that the seer's vision of the divine Throne found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* relies significantly on Ezekiel's account and stands in direct continuity with Merkabah tradition.[443] At the same time, however, scholars observe that the Slavonic pseudepigraphon shows attempts to depart from the overt anthropomorphism of this prophetic book. Christopher Rowland, for example, notes that the shift from anthropomorphism is apparent in the portrayal of the divine Throne in chapter 18 of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.[444] Notwithstanding the many allusions to

---

d'Abraham. Introduction, texte slave, traduction et notes, 28–33. Semitica, 31. Paris, 1981; Rowland, C. *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity*, 86ff. New York: Crossroad, 1982; Rubinkiewicz, R. *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave. Édition critique du texte, introduction, traduction et commentaire*, 76–83. Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego: Źródła i monografie, 129. Lublin, 1987; Stone, M. E. "Apocalyptic Literature." In idem, *Jewish Writings*, 383–441, esp. 418; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 52, 57–61, 72; idem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 18.

[442] Ryszard Rubinkiewicz in his monograph provides a helpful outline of usage of Ezekielian traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. He notes that "among the prophetic books, the book of Ezekiel plays for our author the same role as Genesis in the Pentateuch. The vision of the divine Throne (*Apoc. Ab.* 18) is inspired by Ezek 1 and 10. Abraham sees the four living creatures (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:5–11) depicted in Ezek 1 and 10. He also sees the wheels of fire decorated with eyes all around (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:3), the throne (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:3; Ezek 1:26), the chariot (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:12 and Ezek 10:6); he hears the voice of God (*Apoc. Ab.* 19:1 and Ezek 1:28). When the cloud of fire raises up, he can hear 'the voice like the roaring sea' (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:1; Ezek 1:24). There is no doubt that the author of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* takes the texts of Ezek 1 and 10 as sources of inspiration." Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 87.

[443] Collins, J. J. *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 228–9. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998. John Collins also notes that Abraham's vision "stands in the tradition of *1 En.* 14, conveying a sense of the visionary's experience of awe and terror." Ibid., 229.

[444] Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 86.

Ezek 1 in the depiction of the Throne room in chapters 18 and 19 of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, Rowland highlights a radical paradigm shift in the text's description of the Deity, noting "a deliberate attempt... to exclude all reference to the human figure mentioned in Ezek 1."[445] For Rowland this shift entails that "there was a definite trend within apocalyptic thought away from the direct description of God...."[446]

These observations about anti-anthropomorphic tendencies of the Slavonic apocalypse are intriguing and deserve further investigation. Even a cursory look at the text reveals that, despite an extensive appropriation of the visionary motifs and themes, the authors appears to be avoiding anthropomorpic depictions of the Deity and some other celestial beings.[447] This tendency leads to the creation of a new apocalyptic imagery that combines traditional and novel elements. This article will investigate these new conceptual developments in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and seek to understand their place in the larger anti-corporeal ideology of the Slavonic pseudepigraphon.

BIBLICAL BACKGROUND OF THE *SHEM* TRADITION

The *Apocalypse of Abraham* is a Jewish work probably composed in Palestine in the early centuries of the Common Era.[448] The text can be divided into two parts.[449] The first part (chs 1–8) of the work represents a haggadic ac-

---

[445] Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 87.

[446] Ibid.

[447] It should be noted that an anti-anthropomorphic reinterpretation of Ezekiel's vision can be also detected in the Targums. For the extensive discussion on avoidance of anthropomorphism in the Targum to Ezek 1, see Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 120ff.

[448] On the date and provenance of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, see: Box and Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, xv–xix; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 34–5; Rubinkiewicz, "Apocalypse of Abraham," 683; idem, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 70–73; Кулик, А. "К датировке 'Откровения Авраама'" [Kulik, A. "About the Date of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*"]. In Ботвинник, Н. М., Э. И. Ванеева [Botvinnik, N. M., and E. I. Vaneeva], eds. *In Memoriam: Памяти Я. С. Лурье* [*In Memoriam: In Memory of Ja. S. Lur'e*], 189–95. St. Petersburg, 1997; Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 2–3.

[449] For the published Slavonic manuscripts and fragments of the *Apoc. Ab.*, see "Книга о Аврааме праотци и патриарси." In Франко, *Апокрифи*, vol. 1, 80–6; Яцимирский, *Библиографический обзор апокрифов*, 99–100; Jagic, V. *Prilozi k historiji književnosti naroda hrvatskoga i srbskoga*, 65–151 at 83–91. Agram, 1868; Новицкий, П. П. "Откровение Авраама" [Novickij, P. P. "Apocalypse of Abraham"].

count of Abraham's rejection of the religious practices of his father Terah. The second, apocalyptic part covers the rest of the work (chs. 9–32) and depicts the patriarch's ascension to heaven where he is accompanied by his *angelus interpres* Yahoel during his initiation into the heavenly and eschatological mysteries.

The first eight chapters of the pseudepigraphon take the form of midrashic elaboration and recount the early years of Abraham who is depicted

---

Общество любителей древней письменности [*The Society of Lovers of Ancient Literature*] 99 (1891); Порфирьев, "Апокрифическия сказания," 111–30; idem, "Палея толковая по списку ... 1406 г."; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*; Пыпин, А. Н. *Ложные и отреченные книги славянской и русской старины* [Pypin, A. N. *The False and Rejected Books of Slavonic and Russian Antiquity*], 24–36. Памятники старинной русской литературы, издаваемые Графом Григорием Кушелевым-Безбородко [Memorials of Ancient Russian Literature edited by Count Gregory Kushelev-Bezborodko], 3. St. Petersburg, 1860–62; Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*; Срезневский, И. И. "Книги Откровения Авраама" [Sreznevskij, I. I. "The Apocalypse of Abraham"]. *Известия Императорской академии наук по отделению русского языка и словестности* [*Proceedings of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. Department of Russian Language and Literature*] 10 (1961–63): 648–55; Тихонравов, *Памятники*, vol. 1, 32–77. For the translations of the *Apoc. Ab.* see Bonwetsch, G. N. *Die Apocalypse Abrahams. Das Testament der vierzig Märtyrer.* Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche, Bd.1, Heft 1. Leipzig, 1897; Box and Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*; Enrieetti, M., and P. Sacchi. "Apocalisse di Abramo." In Sacchi, P., et al., eds. *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento*, vol. 3, 61–110. Torino/Brescia, 1981–97. 5 vols.; Gaster, M. "The Apocalypse of Abraham. From the Roumanian Text, Discovered and Translated." In idem, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archeology*, vol. 1, 92–123. London: Maggs Brothers, 1925. Repr. New York, 1971; Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 9–35; Pennington, A. "Apocalypse of Abraham." In Sparks, *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, 363–491; Петканова, Д. "Откровение на Авраам" [Petkanova, D. "The Apocalypse of Abraham"]. In Petkanova, D. and A. Miltenova, eds. *Старобългарска Есхатология. Антология* [*Old Bulgarian Eschatology. Anthology*], 17–30. Slavia Orthodoxa. Sofia, 1993; Philonenko-Sayar, B., and M. Philonenko. "Die Apokalypse Abrahams." *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistich-römischer Zeit* 5.5. (1982): 413–60; idem, "Apocalypse d'Abraham." In Dupont-Sommer, A., et al., éds. *La Bible. Écrits intertestamentaires*, 1691–730. La Bibliothèque de la Pléiade. Paris, 1987; Rießler, P. "Apokalypse des Abraham." In *Altjüdisches Schriftum außerhalb der Bibel*, 13–39, 1267–69. Freiburg i. B., 1928. Repr. 1979; Rubinkiewicz, R. "The Apocalypse of Abraham." In *OTP*, vol. 1, 681–705; idem, "Apocalypsa Abrahama." In Rubinkiewicz, R., ed. *Apokryfy Starego Testamentu*, 460–81. Warszawa, 1999.

as a reluctant helper to his idolatrous father Terah. The conceptual developments found in this section of the work, especially in the depictions of the idolatrous statues, seem to play an important role in the work's overall retraction of the anthropomorphic understanding of the Deity. Possibly mindful of the broader extra-biblical context of Abraham's biography and his role as the fighter with the idolatrous practices of his father Terah, the work's authors seem to be appropriating the patriarch's story for their anticorporeal agenda.[450] In the depictions of the idol Bar-Eshath ("the Son of Fire")[451] and some other human-like statues, whose features are vividly reminiscent of the familiar attributes of the anthropomorphic portrayals of the Deity in Ezekiel and some other biblical and pseudepigraphical accounts, one can detect a subtle polemics with the divine Body traditions. I have previously discussed the scope and nature of the anti-anthropomorphic developments in the first part of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.[452] The current article can be seen as the continuation of the ongoing inquiry into the anti-anthropomorphic tendencies of *Apoc. Ab.*, as it will deal with the polemical developments in the second, apocalyptic section of the pseudepigraphon. The second portion of the Slavonic pseudepigraphon takes the form of a visionary account and deals with celestial and eschatological revelations to Abraham after his open renunciation of idolatrous practices.

One of the important features of this section of the text is the authors' apparent anti-anthropomorphic attitude reflected in their peculiar portrayals of the Deity and the heavenly hosts in chapters 8–19. Although apocalyptic imagery found in this portion of the pseudepigraphon appears to stem from the theophanic paradigm of the early Merkabah speculations, similar to those found in Ezek 1, *1 En.* 14,[453] and the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel

---

[450] For the background of this story in the *Book of Jubilees*, Josephus, Philo and the later rabbinic materials (*Genesis Rabbah* 38:13, *Tanna debe Eliahu* 2:25, *Seder Eliahu Rabba* 33), see: Box and Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, 88–94; Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave,* 43–9.

[451] On Bar-Eshath and the background of this name, see Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 63.

[452] Orlov, A. "'The Gods of My Father Terah': Abraham the Iconoclast and Polemics with the Divine Body Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*." *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 18.1 (2008): 33–53.

[453] George Nickelsburg notices that "Abraham's ascent and throne vision stand in a tradition that stretches from *1 En.* 12–16 to the medieval mystical texts." Nickelsburg, G. W. E. *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction*, 288. 2nd ed. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005.

the Tragedian, the authors of the Slavonic text appear to exhibit consistent efforts to re-fashion this traditional theophanic imagery in accordance with a new anti-anthropomorphic template that insists on expressing the divine Presence in the form of the Deity's Voice.[454] In his comparative analysis of the accounts from Ezekiel and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, Christopher Rowland notes that, while preserving the angelology of Ezekiel's account, the author of the Slavonic apocalypse carefully avoids anthropomorphic descriptions of the *Kavod* substituting them with references to the divine Voice.

These anti-anthropomorphic tendencies can be observed already in the very beginning of the apocalyptic section of the work. The very first manifestation of the Deity to the seer found in chapter 8 takes the form of theophany of the divine Voice that is depicted as coming from heaven in a stream of fire.[455] This peculiar expression of the Deity as the voice erupting in a fiery stream will subsequently become a customary theophanic expression appearing multiple times in the apocalypse, including the climatic account of the revelation given to Abraham in the seventh firmament. There in his vision of the throne room, which evokes memories of Ezekelian angelology, the hero of the faith sees not the human-like form of God but the Deity's formless voice.

This tendency to substitute the anthropomorphic depiction of the Deity with expressions of the divine Voice or Name is, of course, not a novel development of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* authors, but a specimen of the long-lasting tradition whose roots can be found already in the biblical materials.

---

[454] On the hypostatic voice of God, see Charlesworth, "The Jewish Roots of Christology," 19–41.

[455] Scholars have previously noted that the patriarch's vision reflected in the second part of the Slavonic apocalypse seems to be reminiscent not only of Ezek 1 but also the visionary account in Gen 15 "with an allusion to Gen 22 insofar as the sacrifice is located on a high mountain." Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 226. Thus, H. Box notes that "the apocalyptic part of the book is based upon the story of Abraham's sacrifices and trance, as described in Gen. xv." Box and Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, xxiv. Both in Gen. and *Apoc. Ab.* the patriarch is asked to prepare sacrifices, and the content of the sacrifices is also very similar. Yet, the theophanic tradition of the divine Voice does not play a prominent role in Gen 15. Although it mentions the word of God given to Abraham, it does not say anything about the voice in the fire, a standard theophanic formulae found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. It is also noteworthy that at the end of Genesis' account the patriarch sees the vision of a fiery phenomenon — a smoking fire pot with a blazing torch.

The Hebrew Bible reveals complicated polemics for and against an anthropomorphic understanding of God. Scholars argue that the anthropomorphic imagery found in biblical materials was "crystallized" in the Israelite priestly ideology, known to us as the Priestly source. Moshe Weinfeld points out that the theology of worship delineated in the Priestly source depicts God in "the most tangible corporeal similitudes."[456] In the Priestly tradition God is understood to have created humanity in his own image (Gen. 1:27) and is thus frequently described as possessing a human-like form.[457] Scholars have shown that the anthropomorphism of the priestly authors appears to be intimately connected with the place of divine habitation — the Deity possesses a human form and needs to reside in a house or tabernacle.[458] Weinfeld argues that the anthropomorphic position was not entirely an invention of the Priestly tradition, but derived from early preexilic sacral conceptions about divine corporeal manifestations found in Mesopotamian literature.[459] Scholars observe that the priestly understanding of the corporeal representation of the Deity finds its clearest expression in the conception of the "Glory of God" (כבוד יהוה).[460] This conception is always expressed in the Priestly tradition in the symbolism grounded in mythological corporeal imagery.[461] One of the paradigmatic accounts of the portrayal of the divine *Kavod* can be found in the first chapter of the book of Ezekiel, which can be seen as the manifesto of the Priestly corporeal ideology. There the *Kavod* is portrayed as an enthroned human form enveloped by fire.[462]

While containing forceful anthropomorphic ideologies, the Hebrew Bible also attests to polemical narratives contesting the corporeal depictions of the Deity. Scholars have long noted a sharp opposition of the book of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic school to early anthropomorphic developments. In fact, the Deuteronomic school is widely thought to have initiated the polemic against the anthropomorphic and corporeal

---

[456] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 191.

[457] Ludwig Köhler and Moshe Weinfeld argue that the phrase, "in our image, after our likeness" precludes the anthropomorphic interpretation that the human being was created in the divine image. Köhler, L. "Die Grundstelle der Imago-Dei Lehre, Genesis i, 26." *ThZ* 4 (1948): 16ff; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 199.

[458] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 191.

[459] Ibid., 199.

[460] Ibid., 200–201.

[461] Ibid., 201.

[462] Ibid.

conceptions of the Deity, which were subsequently adopted by the prophets Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah.[463] Seeking to dislodge ancient anthropomorphism, the book of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic school promulgated an anti-corporeal theology of the divine Name with its conception of sanctuary (tabernacle) as the exclusive dwelling abode of God's Name.[464] Gerhard von Rad argues that the Deuteronomic formulae "to cause his name to dwell" (לשכן שמו) advocates a new understanding of the Deity that challenges the popular ancient belief that God actually dwells within the sanctuary.[465] It is noteworthy that, while the Deuteronomic *Shem* ideology does not completely abandon the terminology pertaining to the concept of the divine Glory (*Kavod*), [466] it markedly voids it of any corporeal motifs. Weinfeld observes that "the expression כבוד, when occurring in Deuteronomy, does not denote the being and substantiality of God as it does in the earlier sources but his splendor and greatness," signifying "abstract and not corporeal qualities."[467]

One of the early examples of the polemical interaction between the corporeal ideology of the divine Form (*Kavod*), which is often labeled in the theophanic accounts as the divine Face (*Panim*), and the incorporeal theology of the divine Name is possibly seen in Exod 33 where upon Moses' plea to behold the divine *Kavod*, the Deity offers an aural alternative by promising to reveal to the seer his Name:

> Then Moses said, "Now show me your glory (כבדך)." And the Lord said, "I will cause all my goodness to pass in front of you, and I will proclaim my name (וקראתי בשם), the Lord, in your presence... but," he said, "you cannot see my face (פני), for no one may see me and live."

This account appears to highlight the opposition between visual and aural revelations, focusing on the possibility of encountering the Deity not only through the form but also through the sound. One mode of revelation

---

[463] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 198.

[464] Tryggve Mettinger observes that the concept of God in the *Shem* theology is "... strikingly abstract .... God himself is no longer present in the Temple, but only in heaven. However, he is represented in the Temple by his Name ..." Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*, 124. See also Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 193.

[465] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 193.

[466] This tendency for polemical re-interpretation of the imagery of the rival paradigm is also observable in the *Kavod* tradition which in its turn uses the symbolism of the divine Voice and other aspects of the *Shem* symbolism.

[467] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 206.

often comes at the expense of the other — the idea hinted at in Exod 33 and articulated more explicitly in Deut 4, "You heard the sound of words, but saw no form (תמונה)." Scholars point to a paradigm shift in Deuteronomy's switch of the revelatory axis from the visual to the aural plane.[468] In this new, theo-aural, as opposed to theo-phanic, understanding, even God's revelation to Moses on Mt. Sinai in Exod 19, an event marking a vital nexus of the visual anthropomorphic paradigm, becomes now reinterpreted in the terms of its aural counterpart. Deut 4:36 describes the Sinai theophany as hearing of the divine Voice: "Out of heaven he let you hear his voice, that he might discipline you; and on earth he let you see his great fire and you heard his words out of the midst of the fire." Here the revelation is received not in form of tablets, the medium that might implicitly underline the corporeality of the Deity; rather "the commandments were heard from out of the midst of the fire... uttered by the Deity from heaven."[469] This transcendent nature of the Deity's revelation that now chooses to manifest itself as the formless voice in the fire eliminates any need of its corporal representation in the form of the anthropomorphic Glory of God.

The depiction of the Deity's activity and presence as the voice in the fire thus becomes one of the distinctive features of the *Shem* theology.[470] The classic example of this imagery can be found in the account of God's appearance to Elijah on Mount Horeb in 1 Kings 19:11–13:

> He said, "Go out and stand on the mountain before the Lord, for the Lord is about to pass by." Now there was a great wind, so strong that it was splitting mountains and breaking rocks in pieces before the Lord, but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire a sound of sheer silence. When Elijah heard it, he wrapped his face in his mantle and went out and stood at the entrance of the cave. Then there came a voice to him that said, "What are you doing here, Elijah?"

This passage vividly recalls the description found in chapter eight of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* where the Deity is described as "the voice of the Mighty One coming down from the heavens in a stream of fire." And

---

[468] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 207.

[469] Ibid.

[470] Mettinger notes that "it is not surprising that the Name of God occupies such central position in a theology in which God's words and voice receive so much emphasis." Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*, 124.

although in the account found in 1 Kings 19 the fire is not mentioned directly, the fiery nature of the divine Voice is implicitly reaffirmed through the portrayal of the seer wrapping his face in the mantle to shield himself from the dangerous nature of the encounter with the divine Voice.

THE VOICE OF THE MIGHTY ONE: THE AURAL MYSTICISM OF THE *APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM*

Keeping in mind the aforementioned biblical specimens relating to the *Kavod* and the *Shem* conceptual developments, we will next examine the imagery of the divine Presence in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.

The Revelation of the Divine Sound

Depictions of theophanies of the divine Voice in *Apoc. Ab.* reveal marked similarities with the traditions in Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic materials.[471] Already in chapter eight, which marks a transition to the apocalyptic section of the work and narrates the patriarch's response to the divine call in the courtyard of Terah's house, the divine Presence is depicted as "the voice of the Mighty One" coming down in a stream of fire.[472] This self-disclosure of God in the formless "voice" (Slav. *гласъ*) rather than some angelic or divine form becomes a standard description adopted by the author(s) of the apocalypse to convey manifestations of the Deity.[473]

The divine Voice appears continually in the narrative. More notably, in *Apoc. Ab.* 9:1 the voice of "the primordial and mighty God" commands

---

[471] The affinities with the Deuteronomic materials can also be seen in the implicit and explicit connections between the vision of Abraham and the Deuteronomic version of Moses' Sinai encounter. In this respect David Halperin notes that the author of *Apoc. Ab.* "... gives us several clues that he is modeling Abraham's experience after Moses' at Sinai. The most obvious of these is his locating the experience at Mount Horeb, the name that Deuteronomy regularly uses for Sinai." Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 109–10. Halperin also notices the allusion to the Deuteronomistic traditions including the story of Elijah.

[472] *Apoc. Ab.* 8:1: "The voice (*гласъ*) of the Mighty One came down from heaven in a stream of fire, saying and calling, 'Abraham, Abraham!'" Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 16; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 54.

[473] See, for example, *Apoc. Ab.* 18:2 "And I heard a voice (*гласъ*) like the roaring of the sea, and it did not cease because of the fire." Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 24; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 76.

Abraham to bring sacrifices, and in chapter 10 it appoints the angel Yahoel as a celestial guide of the exalted patriarch.

Similar to the developments in the *Kavod* tradition, the aural expression of the Deity evokes veneration. The epiphany of the divine Voice is repeatedly depicted as accompanied by veneration of the seer, in a fashion that recalls veneration of the *Kavod* in the apocalyptic visionary accounts. Thus, in the dramatic portrayal of the seer's encounter of the aural revelation of the Deity in *Apoc. Ab.* 10:1–3, the visionary's spirit is said to have been affrighted, his soul to have fled him, and he "became like a stone (*быхъ яко камыкъ*), and fell down upon the earth (*и падохъ [яко] ниць на земли*)."[474]

Transformational prostration of an adept during his dramatic encounter with the Deity is not a novel feature and is customarily encountered in theophanic narratives as early as the Book of Ezekiel that depicts a visionary's prostration while approaching the Glory of God.[475] There is, however, a significant difference between these two mystical traditions since in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* the visionary's prostration occurs not before the divine Form but before the divine Voice. Veneration of the divine Sound can be found in other parts of the text where not only Abraham but also his celestial companion, Yahoel, is depicted as a worshiper of this peculiar divine manifestation:

> And while he was still speaking, behold, a fire was coming toward us round about, and a sound was in the fire like a sound of many waters, like a sound of the sea in its uproar. And the angel bowed with me and worshiped (*и покляче съ мною ангелъ и поклонися*) (*Apoc. Ab.* 17:1–2).[476]

The Singer of the Eternal One

It is important not to underestimate the figure of Abraham's celestial guide in the theological framework of the Slavonic apocalypse. Indeed, Yahoel can be seen as one of the decisive symbols for understanding the overarching theological thrust of the pseudepigraphon. The *Apocalypse of Abraham* defines him as the mediation of "my [God] ineffable name (*неизрекомаго*

---

[474] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 17; Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 126; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 58.

[475] See also *1 En.* 71; *2 En.* 22.

[476] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 22; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 72.

имени моего)."[477] Even apart from this explanation of the guide's spectacular office, the peculiar designation "Yahoel" (Slav. *Иаоиль*) in itself reveals unequivocally the angelic creature as the representation of the divine Name. It is no coincidence that in the text, which exhibits similarities with the Deuteronomic *Shem* theology, the angelic guide of the protagonist is introduced as the Angel of the Name. Scholars have previously noted the formative role of the figure of the Angel of the Name (or the Angel of YHWH) in the conceptual framework of the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic *Shem* ideologies. According to one of the hypotheses, the figure of the Angel of the Lord (or the Angel of the divine Name) found in the Book of Exodus constituted one of the conceptual roots of the *Shem* theology. Tryggve Mettinger observes that "it appears that when the Deuteronomistic theologians choose *shem*, they seized on a term which was already connected with the idea of God's presence. Exod 23:21 tells us how God warned Israel during her wanderings in the desert to respect his angel and obey his voice, 'for my name in him.'"[478]

Yahoel can be seen both as a manifestation and a non-manifestation of the divine Name. He is in many ways a paradoxical figure at once reaffirming the divine Presence through mediation of the Tetragrammaton and challenging its overt veneration.[479] This ambiguity in his mediating role of the divine Presence is very similar to the later role of the angel Metatron in the Merkabah tradition who represents there not only the divine Name but also the Form of the Deity, his *Shi'ur Qomah*.[480] In this capacity of being a representation of the divine Body, the great angel finds himself in a rather awkward position, as he becomes a stumbling block for the infamous visionary of the Talmud, Elisha b. Abuyah, who according to *b. Hag.* 15a took Metatron as the second deity in heaven which led him to the heretical conclusion about two "powers" (ב׳ רשויות) in heaven. Still in both accounts (talmudic and pseudepigraphical) the difference between the Deity and his angelic manifestation is properly re-affirmed. In *Apoc. Ab.* Yahoel prevents Abraham from venerating him by putting the patriarch on

---

[477] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 17; Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave,* 128; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 58.

[478] Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*, 124–5.

[479] *Apoc. Ab.* 10:4: "... he took me by my right hand and stood me on my feet." Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 17.

[480] On the formative influence of the Yahoel lore on the figure of Metatron, see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 51.

his feet. In *b. Hag.* 15a the distance between the Deity and his vice-regent, angel Metatron, is reaffirmed even more radically — the supreme angel is publicly punished in front of celestial hosts with sixty fiery lashes in order to prevent future confusions between the Deity and his angelic replica. Despite these reaffirmations, the boundaries between the Deity and his angelic manifestation in the form of his *Shi'ur Qomah* or the divine Name do not remain entirely unambiguous. The paradoxical nature of this angelic mediation of the divine Name appears to be hinted at in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* through the depiction of Yahoel delivering a prayer to the Deity, a hymn that now paradoxically includes his own name, "Yahoel."[481]

Praxis of the Voice

The identification of divine manifestation with the Voice or the Sound in *Apoc. Ab.* underlines the importance of praise as a parallel process of the aural expression of creation in relation to its Creator. Also the authors of the text seem to view the praising of God as a mystical praxis that in many ways mirrors the visionary praxis of the *Kavod* paradigm. Scholars have previously observed the importance of aural invocation or "calling upon" in the *Shem* paradigm that had come to function there as an act of actualization of the presence of God.[482] By invoking the Deity (or more precisely the divine Name) in praise, the practitioner "brings" the Deity into existence,[483] summoning him from non-being into being, thus replicating the prototypical event of creation recounted in Gen 1 where God himself brings everything into being by invoking the divine Name.[484]

---

[481] *Apoc. Ab.* 17:7–13: "And I recited, and he [Yahoel] himself recited the song: O, Eternal, Mighty, Holy El, God Autocrat … Eternal, Mighty, Holy Sabaoth, Most Glorious El, El, El, El, Yahoel …." Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 23.

[482] Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth,* 125.

[483] The process of constitution of the angelic or divine presence or re-constitution a human nature into a celestial one through the invocation of the divine Name can be seen in the traditions about Moses' investiture with the divine Name during his Sinai experience and Jesus' investiture with the divine Name at his baptism. For a detailed discussion of these traditions, see Fossum, *The Name of God*, 76–112.

[484] In the Palestinian targumic tradition (*Targ. Neof.*, *Frag. Targ.*) the divine command יהי uttered by God during the creation of the world is identified with the Tetragrammaton. For a detailed discussion of this tradition, see Fossum, *The Name of God*, 80.

Time and again the angel Yahoel poses as a faithful adept of this mystical praxis of praise. The text defines him as the Singer of the Eternal One (*Apoc. Ab.* 12:4). He is exceptional both as a practitioner and as an instructor of this "aural mysticism," conveying the teachings of the praxis to various types of God's creatures, earthly as well as celestial. In *Apoc. Ab.* 10:8–9 he is described as the celestial choirmaster of the *Hayyot*:

> I am a power in the midst of the Ineffable who put together his names in me. I am appointed according to his commandment to reconcile the rivalries of the Living Creatures of the Cherubim against one another, and teach those who bear him [to sing] the song in the middle of man's night, at the seventh hour (*Apoc. Ab.* 10:8–9).[485]

This role can again be compared to the future office of Metatron who often posits in the Hekhalot and *Shi'ur Qomah* accounts as the celestial choirmaster[486] conducting the liturgies of the Living Creatures.[487]

---

[485] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 18. For the extensive discussion on the passages about the rivalries of the *Hayyot* in the *Apoc. Ab.* 10:8–9 and 18:8–10 see: William Whitney, K., Jr. *Two Strange Beasts: Leviathan and Behemoth in Second Temple and Early Rabbinic Judaism*. HSM, 63. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2006.

[486] On Metatron's role as the celestial choirmaster of the *Hayyot*, see Orlov, A. "Celestial Choirmaster: The Liturgical Role of Enoch-Metatron in *2 Enoch* and Merkabah Tradition," in: idem, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism*, 197–221.

[487] "One *hayyah* rises above the seraphim and descends upon the tabernacle of the youth whose name is Metatron, and says in a great voice, a voice of sheer silence: "The Throne of Glory is shining." Suddenly the angels fall silent. The watchers and the holy ones become quiet. They are silent, and are pushed into the river of fire. The *hayyot* put their faces on the ground, and this youth whose name is Metatron brings the fire of deafness and puts it into their ears so that they could not hear the sound of God's speech or the ineffable name. The youth whose name is Metatron then invokes, in seven voices, his living, pure, honored, awesome, holy, noble, strong, beloved, mighty, powerful name." Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 164. Another Hekhalot passage attested in *Synopse*, § 385 also elaborates the liturgical role of the exalted angel: "...when the youth enters below the throne of glory, God embraces him with a shining face. All the angels gather and address God as 'the great, mighty, awesome God,' and they praise God three times a day by means of the youth...." Schäfer, et al., *Synopse*, 162–3. The designation of Yahoel as the Singer of the Eternal One in *Apoc. Ab.* 12:4 is also intriguing. It again recalls the description of Metatron in the aforementioned account where he is depicted as the leading singer of the heavenly host, the one who is able to invoke the divine Name in seven voices.

Yahoel's expertise in heavenly praise does not seem to be limited to heavenly matters. In the apocalypse he is also depicted as the one who initiates a human visionary, the patriarch Abraham, into this mystical praxis of praising the Deity that serves here as an alternative practice to the vision mysticism.

> And he said, "Only worship, Abraham, and recite the song which I taught you" ... And he said, "Recite without ceasing." And I recited, and he himself recited the song (*Apoc. Ab.* 17:5–7).[488]

Our previous remarks about the connections between the visionary and aural praxis makes it intriguing that veneration of the Deity is described in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* through the paradoxical formulae of seeing/not seeing: "He whom you will see (*его же узриши*) going before both of us in a great sound of *qedushah* is the Eternal One who had loved you, whom himself you will not see (*самого же не зриши*)" (*Apoc. Ab.* 16:3).[489]

This ambiguous mixture of the paradigms of vision and voice can be seen in other parts of the text as well. For example, in the depiction of Abraham's fast in 12:2, two mystical practices appear to be mixed:

> And we went, the two of us alone together, forty days and nights. And I ate no bread and drank no water, because [my] food was to see the angel who was with me, and his speech with me was my drink (*Apoc. Ab.* 12:1–2).[490]

Here the traditional motif found in the visionary accounts — viz., the motif of nourishment through the beholding of a celestial being, often in the form of the *Kavod*, that is especially famous in the later interpretations of Moses' story where he is often depicted as a being fed through the vision of God's *Shekhinah* — is paralleled with the motif of nourishment through the voice of the heavenly being, the angel Yahoel.[491]

---

[488] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 22–3.

[489] Ibid., 22. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 70.

[490] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 19.

[491] David Halperin notices some similarities between the celestial nourishments of Abraham and Moses. He observes that "... Moses also discovered that the divine Presence is itself nourishment enough. That is why Exod 24:11 says that Moses and his companions beheld God, and ate and drank. This means, one rabbi explained, that the sight of God was food and drink to them; for Scripture also says, In the light of the King's face there is life.... We might assume that the author of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* had such midrashim in mind when he wrote that 'my

Also noteworthy is that in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* the praise seems to be understood as a sort of garment that envelops the formless Deity, similar to the Merkabah tradition where the divine Form is enveloped in the garment known as the *Haluq* (חלוק), an attribute that underlines there the anthropomorphic nature of the divine Extent. In contrast, in *Apoc. Ab.* 16:2–4 the Deity is enveloped in the sound of angelic praise, a description that may serve to reaffirm the bodiless presence of the Deity:[492]

> And he [Yahoel] said to me, "Remain with me, do not fear! He whom you will see going before both of us in a great sound of *qedushah* is the Eternal One who had loved you, whom himself you will not see. Let your spirit not weaken <from the shouting>, since I am with you, strengthening you" (*Apoc. Ab.* 16:2–4).[493]

The importance of angelic praise is also highlighted in the depiction of the divine Throne in chapter 18, which draws on the imagery found in Ezek 1. One of the new details there, however, is the persistent emphasis on the symbolism of vocal praxis: in their portrayals of the Living Creatures (the *Hayyot*) and the Wheels (the *Ophannim*), the authors accentuate their role in the praising of the Deity:

> And as the fire rose up, soaring higher, I saw under the fire a throne [made] of fire and the many-eyed Wheels, and *they are reciting the song.* And under the throne [I saw] four *singing* fiery Living creatures (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:3).[494]

Thus, instead of emphasizing the role of the *Hayyot* as the foundation of the Throne, which in the formative account found in the Book of Ezekiel holds the divine Presence/Form, the Slavonic apocalypse stresses the praising functions of the Living Creatures depicted as "singing the divine Presence."

"No Other Power of Other Form"

The most striking detail in the description of the divine Throne in chapter 18, which radically differs from the Ezekielian account, is that at the cli-

---

food was to see the angel who was with me, and his speech — that was my drink.'" Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 111.

[492] The concept of praise as a garment seems to be connected with the tradition of investiture with the divine Name discussed earlier.

[493] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 22.

[494] Ibid., 24, emphasis mine.

mactic moment of the seer's encounter with the divine Chariot — which also curiously appears to be missing a rider — the text does not give any indications of the presence of the anthropomorphic Glory of God which in Ezek 1:26 is described as דמות כמראה אדם.

Instead of the Ezekielian anthropomorphic extent, the visionary encounters the already familiar Voice in the midst of fire surrounded by the sound of the *qedushah*:

> While I was still standing and watching, I saw behind the Living Creatures a chariot with fiery Wheels. Each Wheel was full of eyes round about. And above the Wheels there was the throne which I had seen. And it was covered with fire and the fire encircled it round about, and an indescribable light surrounded the fiery people. And I heard the sound of their *qedushah* like the voice of a single man.[495] And a voice came to me out of the midst of the fire.... (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:12–19:1).[496]

Polemics with the divine Body traditions is then further developed in chapter 19 which can be considered as the climatic point of the anti-corporeal ideology of the apocalypse. Here the seer is allowed to take a final look at the upper firmaments so that he and, more importantly his audience, may be assured that no divine Form is present there. The account detailing this final gaze is rather lengthy:

> And he [God] said, "Look at the levels which are under the expanse on which you are brought and see that on no single level is there any other but the one whom you have searched for or who has loved you." And while he was still speaking, and behold, the levels opened, <and> there are the heavens under me. And I saw on the seventh firmament upon which I stood a fire spread out and light, and dew, and a multitude of angels, and a power of the invisible glory from the Living Creatures which I had seen above. <But> *I saw no one else there.* And I looked from the altitude of my standing to the sixth expanse. And I saw there a multitude of *incorporeal spiritual angels*, carrying out the orders of the fiery angels who were on the eight firmament, as I was standing on its suspensions. And behold, neither on this expanse was there *any other power of other form*, but

---

[495] Halperin noticed the paradigm shift from the visual plane to the aural plane when he observes that "Ezekiel's phrase 'like the appearance of a man,' becomes, in a concluding sentence, that plainly draws on the end of Ezek 1:28, 'like the voice of a man.'" Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 108.

[496] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 24.

> only the spiritual angels, and they are the power which I had seen on the seventh firmament (*Apoc. Ab.* 19:3–7).[497]

Intriguingly, the text repeatedly stresses the absence of any corporeal manifestation of the Deity, in one instance even using the term "form" (Slav. *образ*):[498] "... and behold, neither on this expanse was there any other power of other form (*образом силы иноя*)..."[499]

Further the text seems to deny even the presence of angelic "bodies" on the upper firmaments, constantly referring to angelic creatures found there as "incorporeal" (*бесплотныхъ*) or "spiritual" (*духовныхъ*) angels. Importantly for our ongoing inquiry, according to the *Apocalypse of Abraham* it is not a manifestation of the Deity but the incorporeal angels who now represent "the power" (Slav. *сила*) which the seer beholds on the seventh firmament.

The Idol of Jealousy

The polemical "clash" between the *Kabod* and *Shem* ideologies reaches eschatological proportion in chapter 25 where God allows Abraham to behold the future Temple polluted by the idol of jealousy:

> I saw there *the likeness of the idol of jealousy* (*подобие идола ревнования*), as *a likeness* (*подобие*) of a craftsman's [work] such as my father made, and its statue was of shining copper, and a man before it, and he was worshiping it; and [there was] an altar opposite it and youth were slaughtered on it before the idol. And I said to him, "What is this idol, and what is the altar, and who are those being sacrificed, and who is the sacrificer, and what is the beautiful temple which I see, art and beauty if your glory that lies beneath your throne?" And he said: "Hear Abraham! This temple and altar and the beautiful things which you have seen are my image of *the sanctification of the name of my glory* (*святительства имени славы моея*), where every prayer of men will dwell, and the gathering of kings and prophets, and the sacrifice which shall establish to be made for me among my people coming from your progeny. And the statue you saw is

---

[497] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 24–5, emphasis mine.

[498] The Slavonic word "образ" can be also translated as a "type," an "image," an "icon," or a "symbol." See Срезневский, И. *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка по письменным памятникам* [Sreznevskij, I. *Materials for the Dictionary of the Old Russian Language according to the Written Sources*], vol. 2, 539–542. St. Petersburg: Типография Императорской академии наук, 1883–1912. 3 vols.

[499] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 25; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 80.

> my anger, because the people who will come to me out of you will make me angry. And the man you saw slaughtering is he who angers me. And the sacrifice is the murder of those who are for me a testimony of the close of judgment in the end of the creation (*Apoc. Ab.* 25:1–6).[500]

This description once again provides a graphic example of the polemical interaction between the traditions of the divine Glory and the divine Name where the imagery of both trends becomes closely intertwined. In this pivotal passage the earlier motifs that the readers encountered in the first section of the pseudepigraphon, dealing with the idolatrous practices of Abraham's father become explicitly invoked. The statues similar to those made in the house of Terah are now installed in God's Temple. This idolatrous practice of worship to the statue of shining copper, labeled in the story as "a likeness (*подобие*) of a craftsman's work," seems to be cautiously invoking the language of "likeness" known from the Priestly theophanic paradigm exemplified in Gen 1:26 and Ezek 1. The idolatrous practices are then contrasted to the true worship which is described in the now familiar language of the *Shem* tradition. Here the future eschatological Temple is portrayed as a dwelling place, not for the abominable shining statue, but for "the image of the *sanctification of the name of my [God's] glory* (*святительства имени славы моея*), where *every prayer of men will dwell* (*в нюже вселится всяка молба мужьска*)."[501] It is apparent that the authors try to reinterpret the technical terminology of the *Kavod* tradition merging it with the formulae borrowed from the *Shem* ideology. There is also no doubt that the authors' attitude to the anthropomorphic ideology remains polemical which is unabashedly shown through labeling the shining statue as the idol of jealousy.

CONCLUSION

As has been shown, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* offers a complex mix of the *Kavod* and *Shem* conceptual developments where promulgation of the theology of the divine Name and the praxis of the divine Voice become linked with the theophanic imagery from the Priestly source, Ezekiel, *1 En.* and some other Second Temple accounts. The consequences of this polemical encounter between two important revelatory trends appear to have exercised lasting influence on both traditions. The developments found in

---

[500] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 29. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 92, emphasis mine.

[501] Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 92.

the Slavonic apocalypse should not be interpreted simply as a rejection of anthropomorphic theism through the aural paradigm of the divine Name. Rather, they should be seen as an adaptation of Merkabah imagery into the framework of this aural paradigm that has led to the construction of a new symbolic universe[502] in which two trends can coexist with each other.[503] This synthesis is intriguing and might provide important insights for understanding the character of later Jewish mystical developments where the traditions about the divine Form and the divine Name appear to undergo creative conflation. As has been mentioned, the protagonist of the later Hekhalot and *Shi'ur Qomah* accounts, the supreme angel Metatron, is often depicted in these materials as the celestial choirmaster who instructs the Living Creatures on fitting ways of praising the Deity. These later mystical traditions also portray him as יהוה הקטן,[504] the lesser manifestation of the divine Name, the office which is reminiscent of the role of Yahoel in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.[505]

These later conceptual developments bring to memory Scholem's hypothesis about the existence of two streams that in his opinion constituted the background of the Metatron figure: one connected with Yahoel's figure and the other with the figure of the seventh antediluvian patriarch Enoch.[506] The roles and offices of these two apocalyptic heroes, who can

---

[502] This new symbolic universe manifests itself for example in the depiction of the Throne room with its paradoxal imagery reflecting the visual and the aural traditions.

[503] The synthetic nature of adaptations taken place in the Slavonic pseudepigraphon has been noticed previously by other scholars. Thus, John Collins observes that the *Apocalypse of Abraham* "belongs to the same general period of *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* and shares some of their concerns about theodicy. In place of the Deuteronomic tradition, which informs these books, however, the mystical tendency of the early Enoch books is taken up here." Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 225.

[504] On Metatron's title יהוה הקטן, see Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 136–43.

[505] John Collins notes that "in all, Jaoel bears striking resemblance to Metatron in Hekhalot literature. Metatron is 'the little Yahweh' (*3 En.* 12), whose name is like the name of God himself (*b. Sanh.* 38b)." Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 228.

[506] The classical study by Gershom Scholem differentiates between two basic aspects of Metatron's lore which, in his opinion, were combined in rabbinic and Hekhalot literature. These aspects include the Enochic lore and the lore connected with the exalted figures of Yahoel and Michael. Scholem writes that "one aspect identifies Metatron with Jahoel or Michael and knows nothing of his transfiguration from a human being into an angel. The talmudic passages

in many ways be seen as exemplars of the revelatory paradigms of the divine Form and the divine Voice, later became reconciled in the figure of the chief protagonist of the Merkabah lore. In view of these important developments attesting to the afterlife of the *Shem* and the *Kavod* trends in the later Hekhalot mysticism, the changes that take place in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* should not be underestimated. It is possible that the Slavonic apocalypse, in which the mystical praxis of the divine Name was unfolded amid the familiar Merkabah imagery, can be seen as an important conceptual nexus where the traditions of the divine Name become polemically engaged with the visionary Merkabah paradigm, thus anticipating the process of the gradual unification of both conceptual streams in the later Jewish mystical lore.[507]

---

concerned with Metatron are of this type. The other aspect identifies Metatron with the figure of Enoch as he is depicted in apocalyptic literature.... When the *Book of Hekhaloth*, or *3 Enoch*, was composed, the two aspects had already become intertwined." Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 51.

[507] Alexander Kulik observes that the *Apocalypse of Abraham* can be seen as "representative of a missing link between early apocalyptic and medieval Hekhalot traditions." Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 1.

Celestial Choirmaster: The Liturgical Role of Enoch-Metatron in *2 Enoch* and the Merkabah Tradition

Introduction

In one of his recent publications, Philip Alexander traces the development of Enoch's image through the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period up to the early Middle Ages.[508] His study points to "a genuine, ongoing tradition" that shows the astonishing persistence of certain motifs. As an example, Alexander explicates the evolution of Enoch's priestly role which was prominent in the Second Temple materials and underwent in the later Merkabah sources further development in Metatron's sacerdotal duties. He observes that "Enoch in *Jubilees* in the second century BCE is a high priest. Almost a thousand years later he retains this role in the Heikhalot texts, though in a rather different setting."[509] Noting the long-lasting association of Enoch-Metatron[510] with the sacerdotal office, Alexander draws atten-

---

[508] Alexander, "From Son of Adam," 102–4; Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 52–63.

[509] Alexander, "From Son of Adam," 107.

[510] On Metatron see, among others, Abrams, D. "The Boundaries of Divine Ontology: The Inclusion and Exclusion of Metatron in the Godhead." *HTR* 87 (1994): 291–321; Alexander, P. S. "The Historical Setting of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," *JJS* 28–29 (1977–78): 156–80; idem, "3 Enoch," 223–315; Bietenhard, H. *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*, 143–60. WUNT, 2. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1951; Black, M. "The Origin of the Name Metatron." *VT* 1 (1951): 217–9; Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy*, 124–32; Dan, J. "The Seventy Names of Metatron." in Idem, *Jewish Mysticism: Late Antiquity*, vol. 1, 229–34. Northvale: Jason Aronson, 1998. 2 vols.; idem, *The Ancient Jewish Mysticism*, 108–24. Tel-Aviv: MOD Books, 1993; Davila, J. R. "Of Methodology, Monotheism and Metatron." In Newman, Davila and Lewis, *The Jewish Roots*, 3–18; idem, "Melchize-

tion to the priestly role of this exalted figure attested in *3 Enoch* 15B where Enoch-Metatron is put in charge of the heavenly tabernacle. The passage from *Sefer Hekhalot* reads:

---

dek, the 'Youth,' and Jesus." In Davila, J. R., ed. *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001*, 248–74. STDJ, 46.; Leiden: Brill, 2003; Fauth, W. "Tatrosjah-totrosjah und Metatron in der jüdischen Merkabah-Mystik." *JSJ* 22 (1991): 40–87; Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts*, 156; Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 420–7; Hengel, M. *Studies in Early Christology*, 191–4. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995; Gruenwald, I. *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 195–206. AGAJU, 17. Leiden: Brill, 1980; Himmelfarb, M. "A Report on Enoch in Rabbinic Literature." SBLSP 13 (1978): 259–69; Kaplan, C. "The Angel of Peace, Uriel—Metatron." *Anglican Theological Review* 13 (1931): 306–13; Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," 220–40; idem, *The Mystical Experience of Abraham Abulafia*, 117–19. Trans. J. Chipman. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1988; idem, "Metatron — Comments on the Development of Jewish Myth." In Pedayah, H., ed. *Myth in Jewish Thought*, 29–44. Beer Sheva: Beer Sheva University Press, 1996; Lieberman, S. שקיעין, 11–16. Jerusalem, 1939; idem, "Metatron, the Meaning of his Name and his Functions." Appendix to Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 235–41; Mach, M. *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit*, 394–6. TSAJ, 34. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992; Margaliot, R. מלאכי עליון, 73–108. Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1964; Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 125–35; Moore, G. F. "Intermediaries in Jewish Theology: Memra, Shekinah, Metatron." *HTR* 15 (1922): 41–85; Mopsik, C. *Le Livre hébreu d'Hénoch ou Livre des palais*, 44–8. Paris: Verdier, 1989; Morray-Jones, "Transformational Mysticism," 1–31; Murtonen, A. "The Figure of Metatron." *VT* 3 (1953): 409–11; Odeberg, H. "Föreställningarna om Metatron i äldre judisk mystic." *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 27 (1927): 1–20; idem, *3 Enoch*, 79–146; idem, "Enoch." In *TDNT*, vol. 2, 556–60; Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God*, 29–32; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 43–55; idem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 43–55; idem, "Metatron." in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 11, 1443–6; idem, *Kabbalah*, 377–81; idem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 214–5; Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, 60–73; Stroumsa, "Form(s), of God," 269–88; Stuckenbruck, L. T. *Angel Veneration and Christology*, 71–3. WUNT, 2.70. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1995; Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, vol. 2, 626–32; Vajda, G. "Pour le Dossier de Metatron." In Stein, S., and R. Loewe, eds. *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History Presented to A. Altmann*, 345–54. Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1979; Urbach, E. E. *The Sages, Their Concepts and Beliefs*, vol. 1, 138–9, vol. 2, 743–4. Trans. I. Abrahams. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975. 2 vols.; Wolfson, E. *Through a Speculum that Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism*, 113, 334. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994; idem, "Metatron and *Shi'ur Qomah* in the Writings of Haside Ashkenaz." In Groezinger, K. E., and J. Dan, eds. *Mysticism, Magic and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism*, 60–92. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1995.

> Metatron is the Prince over all princes, and stands before him who is exalted above all gods. He goes beneath the Throne of Glory, where he has a great heavenly tabernacle of light, and brings out the deafening fire, and puts it in the ears of the holy creatures, so that they should not hear the sound of the utterance that issues from the mouth of the Almighty.[511]

This passage portrays the translated patriarch as a heavenly priest in the celestial tabernacle located beneath God's *Kavod*. Along with the reference to Metatron's role as the sacerdotal servant, the text also alludes to another, more enigmatic tradition in which this angel is depicted as the one who inserts "the deafening fire" into the ears of the *hayyot* so the holy creatures will not be harmed by the voice of the Almighty. This reference might allude to another distinctive role of the exalted angel, to his office of the celestial choirmaster, that is, one who directs the angelic liturgy taking place before the Throne of Glory. The tradition attested in *3 Enoch* 15B, however, does not explicate this role of Metatron, most likely because of the fragmentary nature of this passage which is considered by scholars as a late addition to *Sefer Hekhalot*.[512] A similar description in *Synopse* 390[513] appears to have preserved better the original tradition about Metatron's unique liturgical role. The text relates:

> One *hayyah* rises above the seraphim and descends upon the tabernacle of the youth (משכן הנער) whose name is Metatron, and says in a great voice, a voice of sheer silence: "The Throne of Glory is shining." Suddenly the angels fall silent. The watchers and the holy ones

---

[511] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 303.

[512] The literary integrity of *Sefer Hekhalot* is a complicated issue. The form of the work in the major manuscripts demonstrates "clear signs of editing." Scholars observe that "*3 Enoch* has arisen through the combination of many separate traditions: it tends to break down into smaller 'self-contained' units which probably existed prior to their incorporation into the present work... It is not the total product of a single author at particular point in time, but the deposits of a 'school tradition' which incorporates elements from widely different periods." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 223. Alexander also observes that "an inspection of the textual tradition shows that chapters 3–15/16, which describe the elevation of Enoch, circulated as an independent tract...and it is intrinsically probable that these chapters formed the core round which the longer recensions grew." Alexander, "The Historical Settings," 156–7. The detailed discussion of the literary character of *3 Enoch* and its possible transmission history transcends the boundaries of current investigation.

[513] MS New York JTS 8128.

> become quiet. They are silent, and are pushed into the river of fire. The *hayyot* put their faces on the ground, and this youth whose name is Metatron brings the fire of deafness and puts it into their ears so that they could not hear the sound of God's speech or the ineffable name. The youth whose name is Metatron then invokes, in seven voices (שהנער ששמו מטטרון מזכיר באות שעה בשבעה קולות), his living, pure, honored, awesome, holy, noble, strong, beloved, mighty, powerful name.[514]

Here again the themes of Metatron's priesthood in the heavenly tabernacle and his duty of bringing the fire of deafness to the *hayyot* are conflated. This passage also indicates that Metatron is not only the one who protects and prepares the heavenly hosts for their praise to the Deity,[515] but also the choirmaster who himself conducts the liturgical ceremony by invoking the divine name. The passage underlines the extraordinary scope of Metatron's own vocal abilities that allow him to invoke the Deity's name in seven voices. Yet the portrayal of this celestial choirmaster intentionally "deafening" the members of his own choir might appear puzzling. A close examination of Hekhalot liturgical theology may however help clarify the paradoxal imagery. Peter Schäfer points out that in the Hekhalot writings "the heavenly praise is directed solely toward God" since "for all others who hear it — men as well as angels — it can be destructive."[516] As an example, Schäfer refers to a passage from *Hekhalot Rabbati* which offers a chain of warnings about the grave dangers encountered by those who dare to hear the angelic praise.[517] James Davila's recent study also confirms the

---

[514] Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 164.

[515] Another Hekhalot passage attested in *Synopse* § 385 also elaborates the liturgical role of the exalted angel: "...when the youth enters below the Throne of Glory, God embraces him with a shining face. All the angels gather and address God as 'the great, mighty, awesome God,' and they praise God three times a day by means of the youth (ומשבחים הק׳ב׳ה שלשה פעמים יומעל יד הנער)...." Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 162–3.

[516] Schäfer, *Hidden and Manifest God*, 25.

[517] *Synopse*, 104 reads: "The voice of the first one: one who hears [this] voice, will immediately go mad and tumble down. The voice of the second one: everyone who hears it, immediately goes astray and does not return. The voice of the third one: one who hears [this] voice is struck by cramps and he dies immediately...." Schäfer, *Hidden and Manifest God*, 25.

importance of the motif of the dangerous encounters in the course of the heavenly worship in Hekhalot liturgical settings.[518]

This motif may constitute one of the main reasons for Metatron's preventive ritual of putting the deafening fire into the ears of the holy creatures.[519] It is also helpful to realize that Youth-Metatron's role of safeguarding the angelic hosts stems directly from his duties as the liturgical servant and the director of angelic hosts.

It should be stressed that while Enoch-Metatron's liturgical office plays a prominent role in the Merkabah lore, this tradition appears to be absent in early Enochic texts, including the compositions collected in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, *Genesis Apocryphon* and the *Book of Giants*. Despite this apparent absence, this study will argue that the roots of Enoch-Metatron's liturgical imagery can be traced to the Second Temple Enochic lore, namely, to *2 Enoch*, the Jewish apocalypse, apparently written in the first century CE. Some traditions found in this text appear to serve as the initial background for the developments of the future liturgical role of Enoch-Metatron as the celestial choirmaster. This study will focus on investigating these developments.

PRIESTLY ROLE OF THE SEVENTH ANTEDILUVIAN PATRIARCH IN EARLY ENOCHIC TRADITIONS

Before this study proceeds to a detailed analysis of the liturgical role of the translated patriarch in *2 Enoch* and the Merkabah tradition, a brief introduction to the priestly and liturgical function of the seventh antediluvian hero in the pseudepigraphical materials is needed.

In early Enochic booklets the seventh antediluvian patriarch is closely associated with the celestial sanctuary located, as in the later Merkabah lore, in the immediate proximity to the divine Throne. Enoch's affiliations with the heavenly Temple in the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 En.* 1–36), the *Book of Dreams* (*1 En.* 83–90), and the book of *Jubilees* can be seen as the gradual evolution from the implicit references to his heavenly priesthood in the earliest Enochic materials to a more overt recognition and description of his

---

[518] On this motif of the dangerous encounters with the divine in the Hekhalot literature, see Davila, J. R. *Descenders to the Chariot: The People Behind the Hekhalot Literature*, 136–9. SJSJ, 70. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

[519] It appears that the angelic hosts must be protected, not for the whole course of the celestial liturgy, but only during the invocation of the divine name. Cf. Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions*, 162–3.

sacerdotal function in the later ones. While later Enochic traditions attested in the book of *Jubilees* unambiguously point to Enoch's priestly role by referring to his incense sacrifice in the celestial sanctuary, the earlier associations of the patriarch with the heavenly Temple hinted at in the *Book of the Watchers* took the form of rather enigmatic depictions. A certain amount of exegetical work is, therefore, required to discern the proper meaning of these initial associations of the patriarch with the celestial sanctuary.

Martha Himmelfarb's research helps to clarify Enoch's possible connections with the celestial sanctuary in the *Book of the Watchers*, the account of which appears to fashion the ascension of the seventh antediluvian patriarch to the Throne of Glory as a visitation of the heavenly Temple.[520] *1 Enoch* 14.9–18 reads:

> And I proceeded until I came near to *a wall* which was built of hailstones, and a tongue of fire surrounded it, and it began to make me afraid. And I went into the tongue of fire and came near to *a large house* which was built of hailstones, and the wall of that house (was) like a mosaic (made) of hailstones, and its floor (was) snow. Its roof (was) like the path of the stars and flashes of lightning, and among them (were) fiery Cherubim, and their heaven (was like) water. And (there was) a fire burning around its wall, and its door was ablaze with fire. And I went into that house, and (it was) hot as fire and cold as snow, and there was neither pleasure nor life in it. Fear covered me and trembling, I fell on my face. And I saw in the vision, and behold, *another house*, which was larger that the former, and all its doors (were) open before me, and (it was) built of a tongue of fire. And in everything it so excelled in glory and splendor and size that I am unable to describe for you its glory and its size. And its floor (was) fire, and above (were) lightning and the path of the stars, and its roof

---

[520] Himmelfarb, M. "The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, the Book of the Watchers, and the Wisdom of Ben Sira." In Scott, J., and P. Simpson-Housley, eds. *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the Geographics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, 63–78. New York: Greenwood Press, 1991; idem, "Apocalyptic Ascent and the Heavenly Temple." *SBLSP* 26 (1987): 210–17. Himmelfarb's research draws on the previous publications of J. Maier and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; cf. Maier, J. "Das Gefährdungsmotiv bei der Himmelsreise in der jüdischen Apocalyptik und ‚Gnosis'." *Kairos* 5.1 (1963): 18–40 at 23; idem, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis: Studien zur Vor-und Frühgeschichte der "Judischen Gnosis." Bundeslade, Gottesthron und Märkabah*, 127–8. Kairos, 1. Salzburg: Müller, 1964; Nickelsburg, G. W. E. "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee." *JBL* 100 (1981): 575–600 (576–82). Cf. also Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 101–2; Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 81.

> also (was) a burning fire. And I looked and I saw in it a high throne, and its appearance (was) like ice and its surrounds like the shining sun and the sound of Cherubim.[521]

Commenting on this passage, Himmelfarb draws attention to the description of the celestial edifices which Enoch encounters in his approach to the Throne. She notes that the Ethiopic text reports that, in order to reach God's Throne, the patriarch passes through three celestial constructions: a wall, an outer house, and an inner house. The Greek version of this narrative mentions a house instead of a wall. Himmelfarb observes that "more clearly in the Greek, but also in the Ethiopic this arrangement echoes the structure of the earthly temple with its vestibule (אולם), sanctuary (היכל), and holy of holies (דביר)."[522] God's Throne is located in the innermost chamber of this heavenly structure and is represented by a throne of cherubim. It can be seen as a heavenly counterpart to the cherubim found in the Holy of Holies in the Jerusalem Temple.[523] In drawing parallels between the descriptions of the heavenly Temple in the *Book of the Watchers* and the features of the earthly sanctuary, Himmelfarb observes that the "fiery cherubim" which Enoch sees on the ceiling of the first house (Ethiopic) or middle house (Greek) of the heavenly structure rep-

---

[521] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 1, 50–2, vol. 2, 98–9.

[522] Himmelfarb, "Apocalyptic Ascent," 210.

[523] One comment must be made about the early traditions and sources that may lie behind the descriptions of the upper sanctuary in *1 En.* 14. Scholars observe that the idea of heaven as a temple was not invented by the author of the *Book of the Watchers* since the concept of the heavenly temple as a heavenly counterpart of the earthly sanctuary was widespread in the ancient Near East and appears in a number of biblical sources. Cf. Himmelfarb, "The Temple," 68. Students of Jewish priestly traditions previously noted that the existence of such a conception of the heavenly sanctuary appears to become increasingly important in the times of religious crises when the earthly sanctuaries were either destroyed or "defiled" by "improper" rituals or priestly successions. For an extensive discussion of this subject, see Ego, B., et al., eds. *Gemeinde ohne Tempel/ Community Without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum.* WUNT, 118. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1999; Elior, R. "From Earthly Temple to Heavenly Shrines: Prayer and Sacred Song in the Hekhalot Literature and Its Relation to Temple Traditions." *JSQ* 4 (1997): 217–67; idem, "The Priestly Nature of the Mystical Heritage in Heykalot Literature." In Fenton, R. B., and R. Goetschel, eds. *Expérience et écriture mystiques dans les religions du livre: Actes d'un colloque international tenu par le Centre d'études juives Université de Paris IV—Sorbonne 1994*, 41–54. EJM, 22. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

resent, not the cherubim of the divine Throne, but images that recall the figures on the hangings on the wall of the terrestrial tabernacle mentioned in Exod. 26:1, 31; 36:8, 35 or possibly the figures which, according 1 Kgs 6:29, 2 Chron. 3:7 and Ezek. 41:15–26, were engraved on the walls of the earthly Temple.[524]

Several words must be said about the servants of the heavenly sanctuary depicted in *1 Enoch* 14. Himmelfarb observes that the priests of the heavenly Temple in the *Book of the Watchers* appear to be represented by angels, since the author of the text depicts them as the ones "standing before God's Throne in the heavenly temple."[525] She also points to the possibility that in the *Book of the Watchers* the patriarch himself in the course of his ascent becomes a priest[526] similarly to the angels."[527] In this perspective, the angelic status of the patriarch and his priestly role[528] are viewed as mutually

---

[524] Himmelfarb, "Apocalyptic Ascent," 211.

[525] Ibid. David Halperin also supports this position. In his view, "the angels, barred from the inner house, are the priests of Enoch's heavenly Temple. The high priest must be Enoch himself, who appears in the celestial Holy of Holies to procure forgiveness for holy beings." Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 82.

[526] Halperin's studies also stress the apocalyptic priestly function of Enoch in the *Book of the Watchers*. He observes that "Daniel and Enoch share an image, perhaps drawn from the hymnic tradition of merkabah exegesis (think of the Angelic liturgy), of God surrounded by multitudes of angels. But, in the Holy of Holies, God sits alone....The angels, barred from the inner house, are the priests of Enoch's heavenly Temple. The high priest must be Enoch himself, who appears in the celestial Holy of Holies to procure forgiveness for holy beings." Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, 81–2.

[527] Himmelfarb, "Apocalyptic Ascent," 213.

[528] George Nickelsburg's earlier study on the temple symbolism in *1 En.* 14 provides some important additional details relevant to our ongoing discussion. Nickelsburg argues that Enoch's "active" involvement in the vision of the Lord's Throne, when he passes through the chambers of the celestial sanctuary, might indicate that the author(s), of the *Book of the Watchers* perceived him as a servant associated with the activities in these chambers. Nickelsburg points to the fact that Enoch's vision of the Throne in the *Book of the Watchers* is "qualitatively different from that described in the biblical throne visions" by way of the new active role of its visionary. This new, active participation of Enoch in the vision puts *1 En.* 14 closer to later Merkabah accounts which are different from biblical visions. Nickelsburg stresses that in the biblical throne visions, the seer is passive or, at best, his participation is reactional. In contrast, in the Merkabah accounts, Enoch appears to be actively involved in his vision. In Nickelsburg's view, the verbal forms of the narrative ("I *drew near* the wall," "I *went into* that house"), serve as further indica-

interconnected. Himmelfarb stresses that "the author of the *Book of the Watchers* claims angelic status for Enoch through his service in the heavenly temple" since "the ascent shows him passing through the outer court of the temple and the sanctuary to the door of the holy of holies, where God addresses him with his own mouth."[529] It is important for our investigation to note that, despite the fact that Enoch appears to be envisioned as an angel by the authors of the text, nothing is said about his leading role in the angelic liturgy.

The traditions about the seventh patriarch's heavenly priesthood are not confined solely to the materials found in the *Book of the Watchers*, since they are attested in other *1 Enoch*'s materials, including the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En.* 85–90).

It is noteworthy that, whereas in the *Book of the Watchers* Enoch's associations with the heavenly Temple are clothed with rather ambiguous imagery, his depictions in the *Animal Apocalypse* do not leave any serious doubts that some of the early Enochic traditions understood Enoch to be intimately connected with the heavenly sanctuary.

Chapter 87 of *1 Enoch* portrays the patriarch taken by three angels from the earth and raised to a high tower, where he is expected to remain until he will see the judgment prepared for the Watchers and their earthly families. *1 Enoch* 87:3–4 reads:

And those three who came out last took hold of me by my hand, and raised me from the generations of the earth, and lifted me on to a high place, and showed me *a tower* high above the earth, and all the hills were lower. And one said to me: "Remain here until you have seen everything which is coming upon these elephants and camels and asses, and upon the stars, and upon all the bulls."[530]

---

tions of the active "participation" of the seer in the visionary "reality" of the heavenly Throne/Temple. On the other hand, biblical visions are not completely forgotten by Enochic authors and provide an important exegetical framework for *1 En.* 14. Comparing the Enochic vision with the Ezekelian account of the temple, Nickelsburg suggests that the Enochic narrative also represents a vision of the temple, but, in this case, the heavenly one. He argues that "the similarities to Ezek. 40–48, together with other evidence, indicate that Enoch is describing his ascent to the heavenly temple and his progress through its *temenos* to the door of the holy of holies, where the chariot throne of God is set." Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 579–81.

[529] Himmelfarb, "Apocalyptic Ascent," 212.

[530] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 1, 294, vol. 2, 198.

James VanderKam notes a significant detail in this description, namely, Enoch's association with a tower. He observes that this term[531] is reserved in the *Animal Apocalypse* for a Temple.[532] The association of the patriarch with the tower is long-lasting, and apparently he must have spent there a considerable amount of time, since the text does not say anything about Enoch's return to the earth again until the time of judgment. So the patriarch is depicted as present in the heavenly sanctuary for most of the *Animal Apocalypse*.[533]

Although the traditions about Enoch's associations with the heavenly Temple in the *Book of the Watchers* and in the *Animal Apocalypse* do not refer explicitly to his performance of the priestly duties, the account attested in the book of *Jubilees* explicitly makes this reference. *Jubilees* 4:23 depicts Enoch to be taken from human society and placed in Eden[534] "for (his) greatness and honor."[535] The Garden is then defined as a sanctuary[536] and Enoch as one who is offering an incense sacrifice on the mountain of in-

---

[531] Cf. *1 En.* 89:50: "And that house became large and broad, and for those sheep a high tower was built on that house for the Lord of the sheep; and that house was low, but the tower was raised up and high; and the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower, and they spread a full table before him." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 208; *1 En.* 89.73: "And they began again to build, as before, and they raised up that tower, and it was called the high tower; and they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it (was), unclean and was not pure." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 211.

[532] VanderKam, *Enoch*, 117.

[533] Ibid.

[534] For Enoch's place in the heavenly Paradise, see *Testament of Benjamin* 10:6; *Apocalypse of Paul* 20; *Clementine Recognitions* 1:52; *Acts of Pilate* 25; and the *Ascension of Isaiah* 9:6. Cf. Rowland, C. "Enoch." In van der Toorn, K., et al., eds. *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 302. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

[535] VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, vol. 2, 28.

[536] VanderKam argues that there are other indications that in *The Book of Jubilees* Eden was understood as a sanctuary. As an example, he points to *Jub.* 3.9–14, which "derives the law from Lev 11 regarding when a women who has given birth may enter the sanctuary from the two times when Adam and Eve, respectively, went into the garden." VanderKam, *Enoch*, 117.

cense: "He burned the evening incense[537] of the sanctuary which is acceptable before the Lord on the mountain of incense."[538]

VanderKam suggests that here Enoch is depicted as one who "performs the rites of a priest in the temple."[539] Furthermore, he observes that Enoch's priestly duties represent a new element in "Enoch's expanding portfolio."[540]

The purpose of the aforementioned analysis was to demonstrate that, despite the fact that the early Enochic materials found in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* emphasize the patriarch's association with the heavenly sanctuary, they do not contain any references to his role in directing the celestial liturgy. Unlike the later Merkabah materials where the priestly duties of Enoch-Metatron are often juxtaposed with his liturgical activities, early Enochic lore does not link these two sacerdotal functions. Moreover, it appears that in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* Enoch does not play any leading role in the celestial liturgy. Thus, for example, in the *Book of the Similitudes* (*1 En.* 37–71), where the celestial liturgy plays an important part, the patriarch does not play any significant role (*1 En.* 39). Moreover, the text stresses that Enoch is unable

---

[537] One must note the peculiar details surrounding the depiction of Enoch's priestly duties in early Enochic lore. While the *Book of the Watchers* does not refer to any liturgical or sacrificial rituals of the patriarch, *Jubilees* depicts the patriarch offering incense to God. The absence of references to any animal sacrificial or liturgical practice in Enoch's sacerdotal duties might indicate that his office may have been understood by early Enochic traditions to be of the "divinatory angle," that is, as the office of oracle-priest, practiced also by the Mesopotamian diviners who, similarly to Enoch's preoccupation with incense, widely used the ritual of libanomancy, or smoke divination, a "practice of throwing cedar shavings onto a censer in order to observe the patterns and direction of the smoke." Moore, M. S. *The Balaam Traditions: Their Character and Development*, 43. SBLDS, 113. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1990.

[538] VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, vol. 2, 28.

[539] VanderKam, *Enoch*, 117.

[540] Ibid. Scholars point to the possible polemical nature of the patriarch's priestly role. Gabriele Boccaccini observes that "Enochians completely ignore the Mosaic torah and the Jerusalem Temple, that is the two tenets of the order of the universe." In his opinion, "the attribution to Enoch of priestly characteristics suggests the existence of a pure prediluvian, and pre-fall, priesthood and disrupts the foundation of the Zadokite priesthood, which claimed its origin in Aaron at the time of exodus, in an age that, for the Enochians, was already corrupted after the angelic sin and the flood." G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism*, 74. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.

to sustain the frightening "Presence" of the Deity. In *1 Enoch* 39:14 the patriarch laments that during celestial liturgy his "face was transformed" until he was not able to see.[541] This lament makes clear that Enoch's capacities can in no way be compared with Metatron-Youth's potentialities which are able not only to sustain the terrifying Presence of the Deity but also to protect others, including the angelic hosts during the celestial liturgy.

These conceptual developments indicate that in the early Enochic materials the leading role of the translated patriarch in the sacerdotal settings remains solely priestly, but not liturgical. Unlike the later Merkabah materials where the theme of the celestial sanctuary (the tabernacle of the Youth) is often conflated with Metatron's role as the celestial choirmaster, the early Enochic materials associated with *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* show only one side of the story. Our study must now proceed to the testimonies about Metatron's priestly and liturgical activities in the Hekhalot and the *Shi'ur Qomah* materials.

TABERNACLE OF THE YOUTH: PRIESTLY AND LITURGICAL ROLES OF ENOCH-METATRON IN THE MERKABAH TRADITION

It has been already mentioned that, in contrast to the early Enochic booklets which do not provide any hints as to Enoch's leading role in the heavenly liturgy, in the Merkabah tradition the priestly role of Enoch-Metatron is closely intertwined with his pivotal place in the course of the angelic worship. Since both of these sacerdotal functions are closely interconnected, before we proceed to a detailed analysis of the liturgical imagery associated with this exalted angel, we must explore Metatron's priestly duties, which in many respects echo and develop further the earlier Enochic traditions about the sacerdotal duties of the seventh antediluvian hero.

Heavenly High Priest

While the early Enochic materials depict the seventh antediluvian patriarch as a newcomer who just arrives to his new appointment in the heavenly sanctuary, the Merkabah materials portray Metatron as an established celestial citizen who is firmly placed in his sacerdotal office and even possesses his own heavenly sanctuary that now bears his name. Thus in the passage found in *Merkabah Shelemah* the heavenly tabernacle is called the "tabernacle of Metatron" (משכן מטטרון). In the tradition preserved in *Num. R.*

---

[541] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 127.

12.12, the heavenly sanctuary again is associated with one of Metatron's designations and is named the "tabernacle of the Youth" (משכן הנער):[542]

> R. Simon expounded: When the Holy One, blessed be He, told Israel to set up the Tabernacle He intimated to the ministering angels that they also should make a Tabernacle, and the one below was erected the other was erected on high. The latter was *the tabernacle of the youth* (משכן הנער) whose name was Metatron, and therein he offers up the souls of the righteous to atone for Israel in the days of their exile.[543]

This close association between the exalted angel and the upper sanctuary becomes quite widespread in the Hekhalot lore where the celestial Temple is often called the tabernacle of the Youth.[544]

A significant detail of the rabbinic and Hekhalot descriptions of the tabernacle of the Youth is that this structure is placed in the immediate proximity to the Throne, more precisely right beneath the seat of Glory.[545] As mentioned in the introduction, *3 Enoch* 15B locates Enoch-Metatron's "great heavenly tabernacle of light" beneath the Throne of Glory.[546] This tradition appears to be not confined solely to the description attested in *3 Enoch* since several Hekhalot passages depict Youth (who often is identified there with Metatron)[547] as the one who emerges from beneath the Throne.[548] The proximity of the tabernacle to *Kavod* recalls the early Eno-

---

[542] It should be noted that the expression "the tabernacle of the Youth" occurs also in the *Shi'ur Qomah* materials. For a detailed analysis of the Metatron imagery in this tradition, see Cohen, *Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism*, 124–32.

[543] *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 5, 482–3.

[544] Cf. *Sefer Haqqomah* 155–164; *Sid. R.* 37–46.

[545] *3 En.* 8.1: "R. Ishmael said: Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence, said to me: Before the Holy One, blessed be he, set me to serve the throne of glory...." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 262. Metatron's prominent role might be also reflected in the fragment found on one magic bowl where he is called איסרא רבא דכורסיה ("the great prince of the throne"); see Gordon, C. "Aramaic Magical Bowls in the Istanbul and Baghdad Museums." *Archiv Orientálni* 6 (1934): 319–34 at 328.

[546] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 303.

[547] On the title "Youth" in the Hekhalot literature, see Davila, "Melchizedek, the 'Youth,' and Jesus," 254–66; Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, 491–4.

[548] Cf., for example, *Synopse*, § 385: "when *the youth enters beneath the throne of glory* (נכנס הנער לתחת כסא הכבוד)" (Schäfer, *Synopse*, 162). Another text preserved in the *Cairo Genizah* also depicts the "youth" as emerging from his sacerdotal place in the immediate Presence of the Deity: "Now, see the youth, who is going forth to

chic materials, more specifically *1 Enoch* 14, where the patriarch's visitation of the celestial sanctuary is described as his approach to God's Throne. Both Enochic and Hekhalot traditions seem to allude here to Enoch-Metatron's role as the celestial high priest since he approaches the realm where the ordinary angelic or human creatures are not allowed to enter, namely, the realm of the immediate Presence of the Deity, the place of the Holy of Holies, which is situated behind the veil, represented by heavenly (פרגוד)[549] or terrestrial (פרכת) curtains. Metatron's service behind the heavenly curtain parallels the unique function of the earthly high priest who alone was allowed to enter behind the veil of the terrestrial sanctuary.[550] It has been mentioned that the possible background of this unique role of Metatron can be traced to the Enochic materials, more specifically to *1 Enoch* 14 where the patriarch alone appears in the celestial Holy of Holies while the other angels are barred from the inner house. This depiction also correlates with the Hekhalot evidence according to which only the Youth, that is, Metatron, similarly to the earthly high priest, is allowed to serve before as well as behind the heavenly veil. The inscription on one Mandean bowl describes Metatron as the attendant "who serves before the Curtain."[551] Philip Alexander observes that this definition "may be linked to the Hekhalot tradition about Metatron as the heavenly High Priest ... and certainly alludes to his status as 'Prince of the Divine Presence.'"[552] It is true that Metatron's role as the Prince of the divine Presence or the Prince of the Face (*Sar ha-Panim*) cannot be separated from his priestly and liturgical duties since both the tabernacle of this exalted angel and the divine liturgy that he is conducting are situated in the immediate proximity to God's Presence, also known as his Face. In relation to our investigation of the

---

meet you *from behind the throne of glory*. Do not bow down to him, because his crown is like the crown of his King..." Schäfer, P. *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, 2b.13–14. TSAJ, 6. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1984.

[549] On the imagery of the Celestial Curtain, see also *b. Yom* 77a; *b. Ber* 18b; *3 En.* 45.1.

[550] On the celestial curtain *Pargod* as the heavenly counterpart of the *paroket*, the veil of the Jerusalem Temple, see Halperin, D. *The Merkabah in Rabbinic Literature*, 169, n. 99. American Oriental Series, 62. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1980; Morray-Jones, C. R. A. *A Transparent Illusion: The Dangerous Vision of Water in Hekhalot Mysticism*, 164–8. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

[551] McCullough, W. S. *Jewish and Mandean Incantation Texts in the Royal Ontario Museum*, D 5–6. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.

[552] Alexander, "The Historical Settings," 166.

liturgical imagery, it is worth noting that by virtue of being God's *Sar ha-Panim* Youth-Metatron can unconditionally approach the Presence of the Deity without harm for himself, a unique privilege denied to the rest of the created order. He is also allowed to go behind the Curtain and behold the Face of God,[553] as well as to hear the voice of the Deity. This is why he is able to protect the *hayyot* against the harmful effects of the divine Presence in the course of the angelic liturgy. Such imagery points to the fact that Metatron's bold approach to the divine Presence is predetermined, not only by his special role as the celestial High Priest, but also by his privileges in the office of the Prince of the Divine Presence.

It should be noted that, in contrast to the early Enochic traditions which hesitate to name explicitly the exalted patriarch as the high priest, the Merkabah materials directly apply this designation to Metatron. Rachel Elior observes that Metatron appears in the *Genizah* documents as a high priest who offers sacrifices on the heavenly altar.[554] She draws attention to the important testimony attested in one *Cairo Genizah* text which labels Metatron as the high priest and the chief of the priests. The text reads:

> I adjure you [Metatron], more beloved and dear than all heavenly beings, [Faithful servant] of the God of Israel, the High Priest (כהן גדול), chief of [the priest]s (ראש [הכהני]ם), you who poss[ess seven]ty names; and whose name[is like your Master's] ... Great Prince, who is appointed over the great princes, who is the head of all the camps.[555]

It is also noteworthy that Metatron's role as the heavenly high priest appears to be supported in the Hekhalot materials by the motif of the peculiar sacerdotal duties of the terrestrial protagonist of the Hekhalot literature, Rabbi Ishmael b. Elisha, to whom Metatron serves as an *angelus interpres*. In view of Enoch-Metatron sacerdotal affiliations, it is not coincidental that Rabbi Ishmael is the tanna who is attested in *b. Ber.* 7a as a high priest.[556] R. Elior observes that in *Hekhalot Rabbati* this rabbinic au-

---

[553] The passage found in *Synopse* 385 relates: "when the youth enters beneath the throne of glory, God embraces him with a shining face."

[554] Elior, "From Earthly Temple," 228.

[555] Schiffman, L. H., and M. D. Swartz. *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah*, 145–47, 151. Semitic Texts and Studies, 1. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992. On Metatron as the high priest, see Ibid, 25–8, 145–7, 156–7; Elior, "From Earthly Temple," 299, n. 30. Al-Qirquisani alludes to the evidence from the Talmud about the priestly function of Metatron. See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. 6, 74.

[556] Cf. also *b.* Ket 105b; *b.* Hull. 49a.

thority is portrayed in terms similar to those used in the Talmud, that is, as a priest burning an offering on the altar.[557] Other Hekhalot materials, including *3 Enoch*,[558] also often refer to R. Ishmael's priestly origins. The priestly features of this visionary might not only reflect the heavenly priesthood of Metatron[559] but also allude to the former priestly duties of the patriarch Enoch known from *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, since some scholars note that "*3 Enoch* presents a significant parallelism between the ascension of Ishmael and the ascension of Enoch."[560]

Celestial Choirmaster

Unlike the early Enochic booklets that unveil only the patriarch's leading role in the priestly settings, the Merkabah materials emphasize another important dimension of his activities in the divine worship, namely, the liturgical aspect of his celestial duties. The passages from *3 Enoch* 15B and *Synopse* § 390 that began our investigation show that one of the features of Metatron's service in the heavenly realm involves his leadership over the angelic hosts delivering heavenly praise to the Deity. Metatron is portrayed there not just as a servant in the celestial tabernacle or the heavenly high priest, but also as the leader of the heavenly liturgy. The evidences that unfold Metatron's liturgical role are not confined solely to the Hekhalot corpus, but can also be detected in another prominent literary stream associated with early Jewish mysticism which is represented by the *Shi'ur Qomah* materials. The passages found in the *Shi'ur Qomah* texts attest to a familiar tradition in which Metatron is posited as a liturgical servant. Thus, *Sefer Haqqomah* 155–164 reads:

---

[557] Elior, "From Earthly Temple," 225.

[558] Cf., e.g., *3 En.* 2.3: "Metatron replied, 'He [R. Ishmael] is of the tribe of Levi, which presents the offering to his name. He is of the family of Aaron, whom the Holy One, blessed be he, chose to minister in his presence and on whose head he himself placed the priestly crown on Sinai.'" Alexander, "3 Enoch," 257.

[559] N. Deutsch observes that in *3 Enoch* "likewise, as the heavenly high priest, Metatron serves as the mythological prototype of Merkabah mystics such as Rabbi Ishmael. Metatron's role as a high priest highlights the functional parallel between the angelic vice regent and the human mystic (both are priests), whereas his transformation from a human being into an angel reflects an ontological process which may be repeated by mystics via their own enthronement and angelification." Deutsch, N. *Guardians of the Gate: Angelic Vice Regency in Late Antiquity*, 34. BSJS, 22. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

[560] Alexander, "From Son of Adam," 106–7.

> And (the) angels who are with him come and encircle the Throne of Glory. They are on one side and the (celestial) creatures are on the other side, and the Shekhinah is on the Throne of Glory in the center. And one creature goes up over the seraphim and descends on the tabernacle of the lad whose name is Metatron and says in a great voice, a thin voice of silence, "The Throne of Glory is glistening!" Immediately, the angels fall silent and the *ʿirin* and the *qadushin* are still. They hurry and hasten into the river of fire. And the celestial creatures turn their faces towards the earth, and this lad whose name is Metatron, brings the fire of deafness and puts (it) in the ears of the celestial creatures so that they do not hear the sound of the speech of the Holy One, blessed be He, and the explicit name that the lad, whose name is Metatron, utters at that time in seven voices, in seventy voices, in living, pure, honored, holy, awesome, worthy, brave, strong, and holy name.[561]

A similar tradition can be found in *Siddur Rabbah* 37–46, another text associated with *Shiʿur Qomah* tradition, where the angelic Youth however is not identified with the angel Metatron:

> The angels who are with him come and encircle the (Throne of) Glory; they are on one side and the celestial creatures are on the other side, and the Shekhinah is in the center. And one creature ascends above the Throne of Glory and touches the seraphim and descends on the Tabernacle of the Lad and declares in a great voice, (which is also) a voice of silence, "The throne alone shall I exalt over him." The *ofanim* become silent (and) the seraphim are still. The platoons of *ʿirin* and *qadushin* are shoved into the River of Fire and the celestial creatures turn their faces downward, and the lad brings the fire silently and puts it in their ears so that they do not hear the spoken voice; he remains (thereupon) alone. And the lad calls Him, "the great, mighty and awesome, noble, strong, powerful, pure and holy, and the strong and precious and worthy, shining and innocent, beloved and wondrous and exalted and supernal and resplendent God.[562]

In reference to these materials M. Cohen notes that in the *Shiʿur Qomah* tradition Metatron's service in the heavenly tabernacle appears to be "entirely liturgical" and "is more the heavenly choirmaster and beadle than the celestial high priest."[563]

---

[561] Cohen, *The Shiʿur Qomah: Texts and Recensions*, 162–4.

[562] Ibid. On the relation of this passage to the Youth tradition see Davila, "Melchizedek, the 'Youth,' and Jesus," 248–74.

[563] Cohen, *The Shiʿur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy*, 134.

It is evident that the tradition preserved in *Sefer Haqqomah* cannot be separated from the microforms found in *Synopse* 390 and *3 Enoch* 15B since all these narratives are unified by a similar structure and terminology. All of them also emphasize the Youth's leading role in the course of the celestial service. It is also significant that Metatron's role as the one who is responsible for the protection and encouragement of the servants delivering praise to the Deity is not confined only to the aforementioned passages, but finds support in the broader context of the Hekhalot and *Shi'ur Qomah* materials.[564]

Thus, in the Hekhalot corpus, Metatron's duties as the choirmaster or the celestial liturgical director appear to be applied, not only to his leadership over angelic hosts, but also over humans, specifically the visionaries who are lucky enough to overcome the angelic opposition and be admitted into the heavenly realm. In *3 En.* 1.9–10 Enoch-Metatron is depicted as the one who "prepares" one of such visionaries, Rabbi Ishmael, for singing praise to the Holy One:

> At once Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence, came and revived me and raised me to my feet, but still I had no strength enough to sing a hymn before the glorious throne of the glorious King...[565]

It is possible that these descriptions of Enoch-Metatron as the one who encourages angels and humans to perform heavenly praise in front of God's Presence might have their roots in early Second Temple materials. Our investigation must now turn to analyzing some of these early developments that might constitute the early background of the Merkabah liturgical imagery.

THE BEGINNINGS: LITURGICAL ROLE OF ENOCH IN SLAVONIC APOCALYPSE

One of the texts which might contain early traces of Enoch-Metatron's liturgical imagery is *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*, the Jewish apocalypse, apparently written in the first century CE. In contrast to other early Enochic materi-

---

[564] This tradition is not forgotten in the later Jewish mystical developments. Thus, Daniel Abrams notes that in *Sefer ha-Hashek* "Metatron commands the angels to praise the King of the Glory, and he is among them." Abrams, "The Boundaries," 304.

[565] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 256. Peter Schäfer suggests that Ishmael's example stresses the connection between heavenly and earthly liturgies; cf. Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God*, 132.

als, such as *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, which emphasize only one side of the patriarch's heavenly service through the reference to Enoch's priestly activities, the Slavonic text appears to encompass both sacerdotal dimensions — priestly as well as liturgical. Allusions to the priestly office of the seventh antediluvian hero in the Slavonic text demonstrate marked difference in comparison with the testimonies found in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*. Thus, unlike the aforementioned Enochic tracts, *2 Enoch* does not associate the translated patriarch with any celestial structure that might remotely resemble the descriptions found in *1 Enoch* 14 and 87. On the other hand, the Slavonic text contains a number of other indirect testimonies that demonstrate that the authors of this apocalypse were cognizant of the patriarch's priestly role. Thus, scholars previously observed that Enoch's anointing with shining oil and his clothing into the luminous garments during his angelic metamorphosis in *2 Enoch* 22 appear to resemble the priestly vesture.[566]

Another possible sacerdotal association comes from *2 Enoch* 67–69 where the descendents of the seventh antediluvian patriarch, including his son Methuselah, are depicted as the builders of the altar which is erected on the place where Enoch was taken up to heaven. The choice of the location for the terrestrial sanctuary might allude to the peculiar role of the patriarch in relation to the heavenly counterpart of this earthly structure. The Slavonic text also appears to refer to the sacerdotal office of Enoch by portraying the patriarch as the one who in *2 Enoch* 59 delivers the sacrificial instructions to his children. All these testimonies show that *2 Enoch*'s authors were familiar with the traditions about the priestly affiliations of the seventh antediluvian hero attested also in the early Enochic booklets. However, in contrast to these early materials that mention only Enoch's priestly role, the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse also appear to have knowledge about another prominent office of the translated patriarch — his liturgical activities and his role as the one who encourages and directs the celestial hosts in their daily praise of the creator.

Entertaining this possibility of the Enochic origins of Metatron's role as the leader of the divine worship, we must direct our attention to the passage found in *2 Enoch* 18 where the patriarch is depicted as the one who encourages the celestial Watchers to conduct liturgy before the face of God. The longer recension of *2 En.* 18.8–9 relates:

---

[566] Martha Himmelfarb observes that "the combination of clothing and anointing suggests that the process by which Enoch becomes an angel is a heavenly version of priestly investiture." Himmelfarb, M. *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 40. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

> And I [Enoch] said, "Why are you waiting for your brothers? And why don't you *perform the liturgy*[567] before the face of the Lord? Start up *your liturgy*,[568] and perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord, so that you do not enrage your Lord to the limit." And they responded to my recommendation, and they stood in four regiments in this heaven. And behold, while I was standing with those men, 4 trumpets trumpeted in unison with a great sound, and the Watchers burst into singing in unison. And their voice rose in front of the face of the Lord, piteously and touchingly.[569]

One can notice that the imagery of this account represents a vague sketch that only distantly alludes to the future prominent liturgical role of Enoch-Metatron. Yet here, for the first time in the Enochic tradition, the seventh antediluvian patriarch dares to assemble and direct the angelic creatures for their routine job of delivering praise to the Deity. The choice of the angelic group, of course, is not coincidental since in various Enochic materials the patriarch is often described as a special envoy to the Watchers, the fallen angels, as well as their faithful celestial brothers.

It is significant that, despite the fact that in *2 Enoch* 18 the patriarch gives his advise to the angels situated in the Fifth Heaven, he repeatedly advises them to start liturgy "before the Face of the Lord," that is, in front of the divine *Kavod*, the exact location where Youth-Metatron will later conduct the heavenly worship of the angelic hosts in the *Shi'ur Qomah* and Hekhalot accounts.

The shorter recension of the Slavonic text[570] adds several significant details among which Enoch's advice to the Watchers to "perform the liturgy in the name of fire"[571] can be found. This peculiar terminology involving the symbolism of fire appears to allude to the concepts found in the aforementioned Hekhalot liturgical accounts where the imagery of fire,

---

[567] Slav. **слоужите**. Соколов, "Материалы," 16.

[568] Slav. **слоужби ваше**. Соколов, "Материалы," 16.

[569] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 132.

[570] The shorter recension of *2 En.* 18.8–9 reads: "'And why don't you perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord? Start up the former liturgy. Perform the liturgy in the name of fire (*vo imja ogne*), lest you annoy the Lord your God (so that), he throws you down from this place.' And they heeded the earnestness of my recommendation, and they stood in four regiments in heaven. And behold, while I was standing, they sounded with 4 trumpets in unison, and the Grigori began to perform the liturgy as with one voice. And their voices rose up in the Lord's presence." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 133.

[571] Ibid.

in the form of the references to the *deafening fire* and angels "bathing" in the fire, plays an important role. The shorter recension also stresses the importance of Enoch's leading role, specifically underscoring that the angels needed "the earnestness" of his recommendation.[572]

The reference of *2 Enoch* 18 to the later Youth-Metatron office as the heavenly choirmaster does not appear to be happenstance, since the Slavonic apocalypse alludes to some additional features that recall the later Merkabah liturgical developments. The present study will concentrate on two of such characteristics that enhance Enoch's connection with his newly acquired liturgical office. Both of them are linked to Enoch-Metatron's designations, namely, his titles as "Youth" and the "Servant of the Divine Presence," which appear here for the first time in the Enochic tradition. These titles seem to have direct connection to the liturgical imagery found in the Hekhalot and *Shi'ur Qomah* materials where the offices of the Youth and *Sar ha-Panim* help unfold Metatron's liturgical activities. Our study must now proceed to the investigation of these two titles in *2 Enoch's* materials.

The Servant of God's Face

It has been already observed that Metatron's sacerdotal and liturgical duties cannot be separated from his office as the *Sar ha-Panim*, the one who can approach God's Presence without limit and hesitation. It is not surprising that in *2 Enoch*, which attests to the origins of Enoch-Metatron's liturgical imagery, one can also find for the first time in the Enochic tradition an explicit reference to the patriarch's role as the Servant of the Divine Presence.[573]

Hugo Odeberg may well be the first scholar to have discovered the characteristics of "the Prince of the Presence" in the long recension of *2 Enoch*. He successfully demonstrated in his synopsis of the parallel passages from *2* and *3 Enoch* that the phrase "stand before my face forever" found in the Slavonic apocalypse does not serve there merely as a typical Hebraism, "to be in the presence," but establishes the angelic status of Enoch as Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, שר הפנים.[574] In *2 Enoch*

---

[572] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 133.

[573] Although the imagery of angels of the Presence was widespread in the pseudepigraphical writings and specifically in the early Enochic pseudepigrapha, it was never explicitly identified with the seventh antediluvian patriarch. *1 En.* 40:9, however, mentions the four "Faces" or "Presences" of Ezek. 1:6 identifying them with the four principal angels: Michael, Phanuel, Raphael, and Gabriel.

[574] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 55.

therefore the patriarch is depicted not as one of the visonaries who has only temporary access to the divine Presence, but as an angelic servant permanently installed in the office of the *Sar ha-Panim*. The title itself is developed primarily in chs. 21–22, which are devoted to the description of the Throne of Glory. In these chapters, one can find several promises coming from the mouth of archangel Gabriel and the Deity himself that the translated patriarch will now stand in front God's face forever.[575]

In terms of the theological background of the problem, the title seems to be connected with the image of Metatron in the Merkabah tradition,[576] which was crystallized in the classical Hekhalot literature.[577] According to

---

[575] Cf. *2 En.* 21:3: "And the Lord send one of his glorious ones, the archangel Gabriel. And he said to me 'Be brave, Enoch! Don't be frightened! Stand up, and come with me and stand in front of the face of the Lord forever.'" *2 En.* 22:6: "And the Lord said to his servants, sounding them out: 'Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!'" *2 En.* 36:3: "Because a place has been prepared for you, and you will be in front of my face from now and forever." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 136, 138 and 161.

[576] Scholem, *Major Trends*, 67.

[577] On the debates about the various stages in the development of the Merkabah tradition, see Alexander, "The Historical Setting," 173–80; Halperin, D. J. "A New Edition of the Hekhalot Literature." *JAOS* 104.3 (1984): 543–2; idem, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 359–63; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 106–14; idem, "The Experience of the Visionary and the Genre in the Ascension of Isaiah 6–11 and the Apocalypse of Paul." *Semeia* 36 (1986): 97–111; idem, "The Practice of Ascent in the Ancient Mediterranean World." In Collins, J. J., and M. Fishbane, eds. *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*, 123–37 at 126–28. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995; Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 67, 98–123; Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis*, 128–46; Schäfer, P. "Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Edition und Analyse der Merkava Rabba." *FJB* 5 (1977): 65–99; idem, "Die Beschwöerung des sar ha-panim, Kritische Edition und Übersetzung." *FJB* 6 (1978): 107–45; idem, "Aufbau und redaktionelle Identität der Hekhalot Zutarti." *JJS* 33 (1982): 569–82; idem, "Tradition and Redaction in Hekhalot Literature." *JSJ* 14 (1983): 172–81; idem, "Engel und Menschen in der Hekhalot-Literatur." In idem, *Hekhalot-Studien*, 250–76 at 258, 264–5. TSAJ, 19. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1988; idem, "The Aim and Purpose of Early Jewish Mysticism: Gershom Scholem Reconsidered," 277–95 in the same volume; idem, *The Hidden and Manifest God*, 150–5; Scholem, *Major Trends*, 43–4; Swartz, M. D. *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism*, 29, 153–7; 170–2; 210–12. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996; Urbach, E. E. "The Traditions about Merkavah Mysticism in the Tannaitic Period." In Urbach, E. E., R. J. Zwi Werblowsky and Ch. Wirszubski, eds. *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to Gershom G. Scholem*

the legend of the Hekhalot tradition, Enoch "was raised to the rank of first of the angels and שר הפנים (literally, 'Prince of the Divine Face,' or 'Divine Presence')."[578] *3 Enoch*, as well as other texts of Hekhalot tradition, have a well-developed theology connected with this title.

Youth

It has been already shown that in the descriptions related to Metatron's sacerdotal and liturgical duties he often appears under the title "Youth." Such persistence of the Hekhalot writers who repeatedly connect this designation with Metatron's priestly and liturgical service may be explained by one of the possible meanings of the Hebrew term נער, which also can be translated as "servant." It should be stressed that the sobriquet "Youth" is never applied to designate the seventh patriarch in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, *Genesis Apocryphon*, and the *Book of Giants*. Yet, it is significant that in some manuscripts of *Slavonic Enoch* for the first time in the Enochic tradition the seventh antediluvian patriarch becomes associated with this prominent Metatron's title.[579] Despite the fact that this designation occurs only in several Slavonic manuscripts, the author of the recent English translation, Francis Andersen, considered this reading as the original.[580] He was also the first scholar to propose that Enoch's designation as "Youth" in *2 Enoch* recalls the identical title of Metatron attested in *3 Enoch* and other Hekhalot writings.[581] In his commentary to the English translation of *2 Enoch* in *OTP*, Andersen wrote:

> The remarkable reading *yunoše* [youth], clearly legible in A, supports the evidence of V, which has this variant four times (not here), and of other MSS, that there was a tradition in which Enoch was addressed in this way. The similarity to the vocative *enoše* [Enoch] might explain the variant as purely scribal slip. But it is surprising that it is only in address, never in description, that the term is used. The variant *jenokhu* is rare. There is no phonetic reason why the first vowel should change to *ju*;

---

on His Seventieth Birthday by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends, 1–28. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967 (Hebrew).

[578] Scholem, *Major Trends*, 67.

[579] Slav. ѭношѥ.

[580] Professor Francis Andersen reassured me in a private communication about the originality of this reading, referring to it as "powerful evidence."

[581] See, for example, §§ 384, 385, 390, 396 in Schäfer, *Synopse*, 162–3, 164–5, 166–7.

> *junokhu* is never found. But it cannot be a coincidence that this title is identical with that of Enoch (=Metatron) in *3 Enoch*.[582]

The employment of the designation "Youth" in the Slavonic apocalypse cannot be separated from its future usage in the later Merkabah materials, since the context of the usage of the sobriquet is very similar in both traditions. Thus, according to the Merkabah tradition, God likes to address Enoch-Metatron as "Youth." In *3 Enoch* 3, when R. Ishmael asks Metatron, "What is your name?" Metatron answers, "I have seventy names, corresponding to the seventy nations of the world ... however, my King calls me 'Youth.'"[583] The designation of the translated patriarch as "Youth" seems to signify here a special relationship between the Deity and Metatron. One can see the beginning of this tradition already in *2 Enoch* where in ch. 24 of the shorter recension the following tradition can be found:

> And the Lord called me (Enoch) and he placed me to himself closer than Gabriel. And I did obeisance to the Lord. And the Lord spoke to me "Whatever you see, Youth, things standing still and moving about were brought to perfection by me and not even to angels have I explained my secrets...as I am making them known to you today..."[584]

It is significant that the title "Youth" here is tied to the motif of Enoch's superiority over angels and his leading role in the celestial community which will play later a prominent role in the Merkabah liturgical accounts. It is possible that the title "Youth" also signifies here Enoch's role as a very special servant of the Deity who has immediate access to God's Presence which is even closer than that of the archangels. In this context it is not surprising that in the longer recension of *2 En.* 24.1–2 the patriarch is depicted as the one who has the seat left[585] of the Lord, "closer than Gabriel," that is, next to God.

Finally, we must note that several important readings of "Youth" in the materials associated with *Slavonic Enoch* can be found in the Vienna

---

[582] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 118–9.

[583] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 257.

[584] Соколов, "Материалы," 90–1; Andersen, "2 Enoch," 119.

[585] The assigning of the left side to the vice-regent might be seen as puzzling. Martin Hengel, however, rightly observes that this situation can be explained as the correction of the Christian scribe(s), who "reserved this place for Christ." Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology*, 193. Hengel points to a similar situation in the *Ascension of Isaiah* where the angel of the holy spirit is placed at the left hand of God.

Codex.[586] In this manuscript Enoch is addressed by the Lord as "Youth"[587] in the context of angelic veneration. The passage from *2 Enoch* 22 of the Vienna Codex reads:

> And the Lord with his own mouth called me [Enoch] and said: Be brave, Youth![588] Do not be frightened! Stand up in front of my face forever. And Michael, the Lord's *archistratig*, brought me in the front of the Lord's face. And the Lord tempted his servants and said to them: "Let Enoch come up and stand in the front of my face forever." And the glorious ones bowed down and said: "Let him come up!"[589]

This veneration of the Youth by the heavenly hosts in the context of God's speech recalls the liturgical accounts found in *Synopse* 390 and *Sefer Haqqomah* where the angelic hosts prostrate themselves before the Youth in the Presence of the Deity allowing the exalted angel to insert the fire of deafness into their ears. It is not coincidental that scholars previously pointed to the liturgical coloring of this scene from *2 Enoch* 22 where the patriarch changes his earthly garments for the luminous attire which now closely resembles the priestly vesture.[590]

CONCLUSION

The liturgical tradition found in *2 Enoch* can be viewed as a bridge that connects the early traditions about the sacerdotal duties of the patriarch found in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* with the later Hekhalot and *Shi'ur Qomah* lore where references to the translated hero's priestly role are juxtaposed with his liturgical performances. Scholars have previously noted that Enoch's figure portrayed in the various sections of *2 Enoch* appears to be more complex than in the early Enochic tractates of *1 Enoch*.[591] For the first time, the Enochic tradition seeks to depict Enoch, not simply as a human taken to heaven and transformed into an angel, but as a celestial being ex-

---

[586] I want to express my deep gratitude to Professor Francis Andersen who generously shared with me the microfilms and photographs of MSS V, R, and J.

[587] Unfortunately, Friedrich Repp's research on the Vienna Codex failed to discern the proper meaning of "Youth" in this important manuscript. See Repp, F. "Textkritische Untersuchungen zum Henoch-Apokryph des co. slav. 125 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek." *Wiener slavistische Jahrbuch* 10 (1963): 58–68 at 65.

[588] Slav. ІОНОШІЄ.

[589] MS V (VL 125), [Nr. 3], fol. 317.

[590] Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 40.

[591] Alexander, "From Son of Adam," 102–4; Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 52–63.

alted above the angelic world. In this attempt, one may find the origins of another image of Enoch, very different from the early Enochic literature, which was developed much later in Merkabah mysticism — the concept of the supreme angel Metatron, the "Prince of the Presence."[592] The attestation of the seventh antediluvian patriarch as the celestial liturgical director in *2 Enoch* gives additional weight to this hypothesis about the transitionary nature of the Slavonic account which guides the old pseudepigraphical traditions into the new mystical dimension. In this respect the tradition found in *2 Enoch* 18 might represent an important step towards defining and shaping Enoch-Metatron's liturgical office in its transition to his new role as the celestial choirmaster.[593] It is also significant that the beginning of Enoch's liturgical functions in *2 Enoch* is conflated there with the development of his new titles-offices as the Youth and the Servant of the Divine Presence which will later play a prominent role in the Merkabah passages pertaining to Metatron's liturgical actions.

---

[592] Philip Alexander observes that "the transformation of Enoch in *2 Enoch* 22 provides the closest approximation, outside Merkabah literature, to Enoch's transformation in *3 Enoch* 3–13." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 248.

[593] It is intriguing that a similar or maybe even competing development can be detected in the early lore about Yahoel. Thus, *Apoc. Abr.* 10:9 depicts Yahoel as the one who is responsible for teaching "those who carry the song through the medium of man's night of the seventh hour." Rubinkiewicz, "Apocalypse of Abraham," 694. In ch. 12 of the same text Abraham addresses to Yahoel as "Singer of the Eternal One."

The Pteromorphic Angelology of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*

Introduction

In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, a Jewish work composed in the early centuries of the Common Era, God invites Abraham on the celestial journey to receive heavenly and eschatological secrets. To secure Abraham's celestial tour, the Deity appoints Yahoel to be his *angelus interpres*. The pseudepigraphon describes the patriarch's angelic guide as a glorious creature whose body is reminiscent of sapphire[594] and whose face looks like chrysolite.[595] Scholars have previously noted that the peculiar imagery used in the depiction of Yahoel's physique recalls portrayals of the anthropomorphic Glory of God, *Kavod*.[596] Such transference of the *Kavod* imagery to angelic figures is not uncommon in the Jewish apocalyptic and early mystical accounts where the principal angels or the exalted patriarchs and prophets are often portrayed as representations or even measures (*Shi'ur Qomah*) of the glorious anthropomorphic extent of God.[597] What is, however, unusual and even puzzling in the tradition found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* is that the work's authors seem to depart from the familiar anthropomorphic descriptions of angels by seeking to portray Yahoel as a pteromorphic creature who possesses the body of a griffin. This departure from the traditional angelic imagery does not appear coincidental. It has been previously observed that, despite the *Apocalypse of Abraham* authors' reliance on Ezekielian imagery in their descriptions of the celestial realm, they shun the

---

[594] Slav. *сапфиръ*. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 60.

[595] Slav. *хрусолитъ*. Ibid.

[596] Fossum, *The Name of God*, 319.

[597] On this tradition see Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 165–76; idem, "The Face as the Heavenly Counterpart," 399–419.

book's explicit anthropomorphic references.[598] Instead of depicting God in the form of a glorious anthropomorphic extent enthroned in heaven, the Slavonic apocalypse persistently portrays the manifestations of the Deity as a formless voice coming in a stream of fire.[599]

In view of some anti-anthropomorphic tendencies detected in the Slavonic pseudepigraphon, it is possible that its authors' agenda might go beyond the distinctive noncorporeal depictions of the Deity and encompass the imagery of other celestial beings found in the book. The purpose of this paper is to explore the anti-anthropomorphic features of the angelological developments in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.

YAHOEL, THE BIRD OF HEAVEN

One of the possible clues to understanding the mysteries of the text's angelology might lie in the rather cryptic conceptual developments surrounding the figure of Abraham's celestial guide, Yahoel. This angelic character first appears in chapter 10 as "the namesake of the mediation of God's ineffable name."[600] The close association of the chief angelic protagonist with the office of mediation of the divine Name does not seem coincidental in light of the work's engagement of the aural symbolism in its depiction of the Deity as the divine Sound or Voice driven by the authors'

---

[598] Christopher Rowland, for example, notes that the shift from anthropomorphism is apparent in the portrayal of the divine throne in chapter 18 of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. Notwithstanding the many allusions to Ezekiel 1 in the depiction of the throne room in chapters 18 and 19 of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, Rowland highlights a radical paradigm shift in the text's description of the Deity, noting "a deliberate attempt... to exclude all reference to the human figure mentioned in Ezekiel 1." For Rowland this shift entails that "there was a definite trend within apocalyptic thought away from the direct description of God...." Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 86–7.

[599] Such polemical development which attempts to confront the anthropomorphic understanding of the Deity with the alternative depictions of God through the imagery of the divine Voice or Name has its roots already in the biblical materials, particular in the Book of Deuteronomy and later deuteronomistic developments. On these traditions, see Grether, O. *Name und Wort Gottes im Alten Testament*, 1–58. BZAW, 64. Giessen: Toepelmann, 1934; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 191ff.; Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*, 124ff.; Wilson, *Out of the Midst of Fire*, 1–15; Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*, 51–123.

[600] Scholars trace the origin of Yahoel's figure to the biblical imagery of the Angel of the Lord found in Exodus. On this connection, see Fossum, *The Name of God*, 318.

aforementioned anti-anthropomorphic tendency to find a viable alternative to the visionary *Kavod* paradigm.[601] It is this divine Voice that in chapter 10 appoints the angel Yahoel as a celestial guide of the exalted patriarch. *Apocalypse of Abraham* 11:2–3 unveils further features of the angel's unique identity by providing a depiction of his physique:

> The appearance of the griffin's (*ногуего*)[602] body was like sapphire, and the likeness of his face like chrisolite, and the hair of his head like snow, and a turban on his head like the appearance of the bow in the clouds, and the closing of his garments [like] purple, and a golden staff [was] in his right hand.[603]

The Slavonic word "*ногуего,*" used in the description of Yahoel's body, has puzzled scholars for a long time. It can be translated as "his leg" (*ногу его*), but this rendering does not fit in the larger context of Yahoel's description. Previous translators therefore preferred to drop the puzzling word and translated the first sentence of Yahoel's description as "the appearance of his body was like the sapphire."[604] Recently Alexander Kulik offered a hypothesis that the Slavonic term "*ногуего*" might derive from the Slavonic "ногъ" or "ногуи" — "a griffin."[605] Kulik proposes that the whole phrase can be translated as "the appearance of the griffin's (*ногуева*) body" and

---

[601] Scholars have previously noted the formative role of the figure of the Angel of the Name (or the Angel of YHWH) in the conceptual framework of the deuteronomic and deuteronomistic *Shem* ideologies. According to one of the hypotheses, the figure of the Angel of the LORD (or the Angel of the divine Name) found in the Book of Exodus constituted one of the conceptual roots of the *Shem* theology. Tryggve Mettinger observes that "it appears that when the deuteronomistic theologians choose *shem*, they seized on a term which was already connected with the idea of God's presence. Exod 23:21 tells us how God warned Israel during her wanderings in the desert to respect his angel and obey his voice, 'for my name in him.'" Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*, 124–5.

[602] The reading is supported by mss A, C, D, I, H, and K. It is omitted in mss B, S, and U. For the sigla of the known manuscripts of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, see Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 97.

[603] Ibid., 19.

[604] Ibid., 83.

[605] Izmail Sreznevskij in his dictionary traces the Slavonic terms "ногъ" and "ногуи" to the Greek word γρύψ. See Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря*, vol. 2, 462. See also Аванесов, Р. И. *Словарь древнерусского языка (XI–XIV вв.)* [Avanesov, R. I. *The Dictionary of the Old Russian Language of XI–XIV Centuries*], vol. 5, 429. Moscow, 1988. 10 vols.

thus refers to the eagle-like body of Yahoel. He further suggests that Yahoel might be even a composite creature, a man-bird, since he is depicted in *Apoc. Ab.* 10:4 as the angel who is sent to Abraham in "the likeness of a man." Kulik argues that since Yahoel has "hair on his head" and also hands — since he is able to hold a golden staff — it appears that "only the torso of Yahoel must be of griffin-like appearance, while his head is like that of a man."[606] To provide evidence of such puzzling angelic imagery, Kulik points to some examples of "griffin-like" angels in the Hekhalot writings.

Kulik's hypothesis about the pteromorphic features of Yahoel has been recently supported by Basil Lourié who provides references to the tradition of transporting angels in the form of griffins.[607] Both Kulik's and Lourié's findings are important for understanding Yahoel imagery. It should be mentioned, however, that while some Jewish visionary accounts indeed contain references to the psychopomps and some other angelic servants possessing pteromorphic physique, the primary angels in the apocalyptic and Merkabah materials are usually depicted as anthropomorphic creatures. Further, as has been already mentioned, these primary angels often serve as representations or even "mirrors" of the anthropomorphic glory of God.[608] The tendency of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* to depict the primary angel in the form of a bird looks quite unusual in this respect. What is even more intriguing is that in the case of the angel Yahoel and his composite ptero-anthropomorphic corporeality one can possibly witness polemical interaction with the anthropomorphic traditions of the divine Glory. Also it appears that the remnants of the underlying anthropomorphic traditions are not entirely abandoned by the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse and can be clearly detected in the text. Drawing on the account offered in *Apoc. Ab.* 10:4 that God sent Yahoel to Abraham "in the likeness of a man,"[609]

---

[606] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 83.

[607] Lourié points to "... a medieval legend of the ascension of Alexander the Great, which goes back to the Hellenistic era. In the legend Alexander reaches the heaven (or even heavenly Jerusalem) transported by four griffins. This motif suggests that the griffins as the psychopomps transporting visionaries to heaven were not an invention of the authors of the hekhalot literature but were a part of the early Jewish environment...." Lourié, B. "Review of A. Kulik's *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*." *JSP* 15.3 (2006): 229–37 at 233.

[608] On these traditions see Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 165–76; idem, "The Face as the Heavenly Counterpart," 399–419.

[609] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 17.

Fossum observes that "the mention of human likeness is a constant trait in the representation of the Glory."[610] He further notes that other depictions of Yahoel bring to memory various traditions of the divine Glory as well. Thus, for example, *Apoc. Ab.* 11:2–3 tells that Yahoel's body was "like sapphire, and the likeness of his face like chrysolite, and the hair of his head like snow, and a turban on his head like the appearance of the bow in the clouds, and the closing garments [like] purple, and a golden staff [was] in his right hand."[611] Fossum suggests that

> ... this description contains adaptations of various portraits of the Glory. The radiant appearance of the body of the Glory is mentioned already in *Ez.* i.27. In the Book of Daniel, the angel Gabriel, who is represented as the Glory, is in one place described in the following way: "His body was like beryl, his face like the appearance of lightning, his eyes like flaming torches, his arms and legs like gleam of burning bronze ..." (x.6). In the *Shi'ur Qomah* texts, there is frequent reference to the shining appearance of the body of the Glory, and chrysolite is even used expressly to describe it: "His body is like chrysolite. His light breaks tremendously from the darkness [...]" ... The rainbow-like appearance of Yahoel's turban is reminiscent of *Ez.* i.28, which says that "the appearance of the brightness round about" the Glory was "like the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud on the day of rain."[612]

It is noteworthy that in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* these spectacular features of the anthropomorphic divine Glory became applied to the composite creature that combines anthropomorphic and pteromorphic features, which clearly demonstrates the polemical character of the text's angelology.

THE TURTLEDOVE AND THE PIGEON: PTEROMORPHIC PSYCHOPOMPS

Suggestions about Yahoel's possession of a griffin body deserve careful attention since in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* pteromorphic imagery appears to be applied to other angelic beings as well. Another example can be found in chapters 12 and 13 where Yahoel conveys to Abraham the following instructions about the sacrifices:

---

610 Fossum, *The Name of God*, 319.

611 Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 19.

612 Fossum, *The Name of God*, 319–20.

> And he said to me, "Slaughter and cut all this, putting together the two halves, one against the other. But do not cut the birds. And give them [halves] to the two men whom I shall show you standing beside you, since they are the altar on the mountain, to offer sacrifice to the Eternal One. The turtledove and the pigeon you will give me, and I shall ascend (*возиду*) in order to show to you [the inhabited world] on the wings of two birds...." And I did everything according to the angel's command. And I gave to the angels who had come to us the divided parts of the animals. And the angel took the two birds. (*Apoc. Ab.* 12:8–13:1)[613]

Although this description appears to rely on the Abrahamic traditions found in Genesis,[614] it also contains some important additions to the biblical narrative.[615] Thus, the birds that in the Genesis account serve merely as sacrificial objects appear to have some angelic functions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. Yahoel, who requests two birds from Abraham, mentions that later the birds will serve as the psychopomps of the visionary and his celestial guide. Yahoel's prediction about the birds is fulfilled in *Apoc. Ab.* 15:2–4 where the seer and his angelic guide are depicted as traveling on the wings of the pigeon and the turtledove:

> And the angel took me with his right hand and set me on the right wing of the pigeon and he himself sat on the left wing of the turtledove, since they both were neither slaughtered nor divided. And he carried me up to the edge of the fiery flame. And we ascended <like great winds to the heaven which was fixed on the expanses....> (*Apoc. Ab.* 15:2–4).[616]

---

[613] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 19–20; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 64.

[614] Gen 15:8–12 reads: "But he said, 'O Lord God, how am I to know that I shall possess it?' He said to him, 'Bring me a heifer three years old, a female goat three years old, a ram three years old, a turtledove, and a young pigeon.' He brought him all these and cut them in two, laying each half over against the other; but he did not cut the birds in two. And when birds of prey came down on the carcasses, Abram drove them away. As the sun was going down, a deep sleep fell upon Abram, and a deep and terrifying darkness descended upon him."

[615] Scholars have previously noted that the patriarch's offerings are reminiscent of Genesis 15, "with an allusion to Genesis 22 insofar as the sacrifice is located on a high mountain." Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 226. H. Box notes that "the apocalyptic part of the book is based upon the story of Abraham's sacrifices and trance, as described in Gen. xv." Box and Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, xxiv. Both in Gen. and *Apoc. Ab.* the patriarch is asked to prepare sacrifices, and the content of the sacrifices is also very similar.

[616] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 22.

In view of the established tradition of angelic psychopomps in the apocalyptic accounts it appears that the pigeon and turtledove here fulfill functions traditionally performed by angels.

FALLEN ANGEL AZAZEL, THE IMPURE BIRD

Another important feature in the text's angelology providing further support for the hypothesis about the pteromorphic, eagle-like body of Yahoel and for the general polemical tendency of the text against anthropomorphic portrayals of celestial beings is that the negative angelic protagonist in the text, the fallen angel Azazel, is also depicted as a pteromorphic creature — an impure bird (Slav. *нтица нечистая*).[617] Azazel first appears in chapter 13 that deals with the story of the patriarch's offering of animal sacrifices to God. Like in the case of the sacrificial birds refashioned into angelic psychopomps, the authors of the apocalypse again try to expand here the details of the biblical story of Abraham's sacrifices that refers to the birds of prey coming down on the carcasses of the patriarch's offerings. Thus, Gen 15:11 informs that the birds of prey came down on Abraham's sacrifices and he drove them away. In the Slavonic apocalypse, however, the reference to the birds of pray becomes appropriated into the book's angelology. The *Apocalypse of Abraham* 13:2–6 reads:

> And I waited for [the time of] the evening offering. And an impure bird (*нтица нечистая*) flew down on the carcasses, and I drove it away. And

---

[617] On Azazel's traditions, see: De Roo, J. "Was the Goat for Azazel destined for the Wrath of God?" *Biblica* 81 (2000): 233–41; Feinberg, E. L. "The Scapegoat of Leviticus Sixteen." *Bibliotheca Sacra* 115 (1958): 320–31; Grabbe, L. L. "The Scapegoat Tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation." *JSJ* 18 (1987): 165–79; Janowski, B. *Sühne als Heilgeschehen: Studien zur Suhnetheologie der Priesterchrift und der Wurzel KPR im Alten Orient und im Alten Testment.* WMANT, 55. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982; Jurgens, B. *Heiligkeit und Versöhnung: Leviticus 16 in seinem Literarischen Kontext.* New York: Herder, 2001; Levy, R. D. *The Symbolism of the Azazel Goat.* Bethesda: International Scholars Publication, 1998; Loretz, O. *Leberschau, Sundenbock, Asasel in Ugarit und Israel: Leberschau und Jahwestatue in Psalm 27, Leberschau in Psalm 74.* UBL, 3. Altenberge: CIS-Verlag, 1985; Milgrom, J. *Studies in Cultic Theology and Terminology.* SJLA, 36. Leiden: Brill, 1983; Tawil, H. "Azazel the Prince of the Steepe: A Comparative Study." *ZAW* 92 (1980): 43–59; Weinfeld, M. "Social and Cultic Institutions in the Priestly Source against their ANE Background." In *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, 95–129. Jerusalem, 1983; Wright, D. P. *The Disposal of Impurity: Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature.* SBLDS, 101. Atlanta: Scholars, 1987.

> an impure bird spoke to me and said, "What are you doing, Abraham, on the holy heights, where no one eats or drinks, nor is there upon them food of men. But these will all be consumed by fire and they will burn you up. Leave the man who is with you and flee! Since if you ascend to the height, they will destroy you." And it came to pass when I saw the bird speaking I said to the angel, "What is this my lord?" And he said, "This is iniquity, this is Azazel!"[618]

It is intriguing that later in chapter 23 dealing with the story of the fall of the protoplasts, Azazel is described as a composite creature — a serpent with human hands and feet and with wings on his shoulders:

> And I saw there a man very great in height and terrible in breadth, incomparable in aspect, entwined with a woman who was also equal to the man in aspect and size. And they were standing under a tree of Eden, and the fruit of the tree was like the appearance of a bunch of grapes of vine. And behind the tree was standing, as it were, a serpent in form, but having hands and feet like a man, and wings on its shoulders: six on the right side and six on the left. And he was holding in his hands the grapes of the tree and feeding the two whom I saw entwined with each other (*Apoc. Ab.* 23:5–8).[619]

Since this description is given in the middle of the Adamic story, it is not entirely clear whether this composite physique represents Azazel's permanent form or whether it is just a temporal manifestation acquired during the deception of the protoplasts. It is possible that here the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse are drawing on the cluster of traditions reflected in the Primary Adam Books where the tempter uses the serpent's form as a proxy in his deception of Adam and Eve. It is interesting, though, that the pteromorphic features of the negative protagonist are reaffirmed in the description found in the Slavonic apocalypse that portrays Azazel as a winged creature.

Along with Adamic motifs, the descriptions of Azazel found in the *Apocalypse* appear to provide some hints that the text's authors were cognizant of the broader traditions about Asael/Azazel found in the Enochic materials. Scholars have previously noted that some details in the story of the punishment of Asael/Azazel found in *1 Enoch* 10,[620] where the fallen

---

[618] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 20; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 64.

[619] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 27.

[620] *1 Enoch* 10:4 " And further the Lord said to Raphael: 'Bind Azazel by his hands and his feet, and throw him into the darkness. And split open the desert

angel is tied as a sacrificial animal and thrown into the hole in the desert, are reminiscent of the scapegoat ritual with its release of the sacrificial animal into the wilderness. Here one might have one of the first attempts of the angelological reinterpretation of the scapegoat myth. The authors of the Slavonic apocalypse, who are also reinterpreting the Azazel story in angelological terms, appear to be familiar with the early Enochic developments. Some Enochic motifs appear in chapters 13 and 14 where Yahoel delivers a lengthy speech condemning Azazel and instructing Abraham how to deal with the "impure bird."

In Yahoel's discourse one can find several peculiar details pertaining to the anti-hero story that seem to provide some allusions to the Enochic traditions about the Watcher Asael and his angelic companions who according to the Enochic myth decided to abandon their celestial abode and descend on earth. *Apoc. Ab.* 13:8 says the following about Azazel: "Since *you have chosen it [earth]* to be your dwelling place of your impurity."[621] The passage refers to the voluntary descent of the anti-hero on earth which might hint to the Enochic provenance of the tradition. In contrast to the Enochic mythology of evil, the Adamic etiology, reflected in the Primary Adam Books, insists that their negative protagonist, Satan, did not descend of his own accord but rather was forcefully deposed by the Deity into the lower realms after refusing to venerate Adam.[622]

The reference to the impurity is also intriguing in view of the defiling nature of the Watchers' activities on earth. Further, there also seems to be a hint about Asael/Azazel's punishment in the abyss. In *Apoc. Ab.* 14:5, Yahoel offers the patriarch the following incantation to battle Azazel: "Say to him, 'May you be the fire brand of the furnace of the earth! Go, Azazel, into the untrodden parts of the earth....'"[623] Here one might have an allusion to the aforementioned tradition from *1 Enoch* 10, when the place of Azazel's punishment is situated in the fiery abyss. Similar to *1 Enoch*, the Slavonic apocalypse authors seem to combine here traditions about the scapegoat and the fallen angel by referring to the wilderness motif in the form of "untrodden parts of the earth."

---

which is in Dudael, and throw him there." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 87.

[621] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 20.

[622] For the comparison of two mythologies of evil (Adamic and Enochic) see Reeves, J. *Exploring Early Jewish Mythologies of Evil* (forthcoming).

[623] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 21.

There is also a possible allusion to the Watcher Azazel's participation in the procreation of the race of the Giants. In *Apoc. Ab.* 14:6, Yahoel teaches Abraham the following protective formula against the "impure bird": "Say to him ... since your inheritance are those who are with you, *with men born with the stars and clouds, and their portion is in you*, and they come into being through your being...."[624] The reference to human beings "born with the stars" is intriguing since the *Animal Apocalypse* of *1 Enoch* conveys the descent of the Watchers through the peculiar imagery of the stars falling from heaven and subsequently depicts the Watchers as participants in the procreation of the new race of the Giants.

In concluding this section of the study it should be noted that the aforementioned parallels demonstrate that in their re-interpretation of Azazel's figure the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse seem to rely on some angelological understanding of Azazel's figure found in the Enochic materials. Yet, while the Enochic tradition envisions Azazel and his angelic companions as anthropomorphic creatures able to seduce women of the earth to procreate the new race of the Giants, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* insists on the pteromorphic physique of the fallen angel. As in the case with Yahoel and the pteromorphic psychopomps, the peculiar imagery used for depicting Azazel signals the authors' reluctance to identify unambiguously the celestial beings with the traditional human-like appearance which seems to reflect the pseudepigraphon's anti-anthropomorphic tendency.

INVISIBLE ANGELS

The anti-anthropomorphic thrust of the pseudepigraphon's angelology seems also to be reflected in the text's insistence on the invisibility of certain classes of angelic beings. The reader encounters this trend already in the beginning of the apocalyptic section of the work, in the cryptic statement of Yahoel that follows immediately the description of his unusual bird-like physique. There the angel reveals to Abraham that his strange composite body is just a temporal manifestation which will not last long and that he will become invisible soon:

> And he said, "Let my appearance not frighten you, nor my speech trouble your soul! Come with me and I shall go with you, visible until the

---

[624] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 21.

> sacrifice, but after the sacrifice invisible (*невидим*) forever" (*Apoc. Ab.* 11:4).[625]

This deconstruction of the visible form of the primary angel and insistence on his eternal incorporeality seem to reveal some persistent, deliberate motifs deeply connected with the notion of God's own incorporeality. It unveils the striking contrast with the visual ideology of the Merkabah tradition where the body of the primary angel is often envisioned as God's *Shi'ur Qomah* — the measurement and the visual reaffirmation of the Deity's own anthropomorphic corporeality. Yet, in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* one can see a quite different picture.

It does not appear coincidental that, as the story unfolds and the visionary progresses in his celestial journey to the upper firmaments and the abode of the bodiless Deity, the references to the incorporeal or "spiritual" angels occur more and more often. In fact, the idea of the incorporeality of the angelic hosts inhabiting the upper firmaments looms large in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. Thus, according to *Apoc. Ab.* 19:6–7 in the upper firmaments the seer beholds

> ... a multitude of incorporeal (*бесплотное множество*) spiritual (*духовныхъ*) angels, carrying out the orders of the fiery angels who were on the eighth firmament .... And behold, neither on this expanse was there any other power of other form, but only the spiritual angels.... (*Apoc. Ab.* 19:6–7).[626]

Yet here again, as in the previous descriptions, one can see the transitional nature of the pseudepigraphon's angelology, since with a new incorporal understanding of the celestial retinue these new angelological developments also preserve some anthropomorphic details of the *Kavod* paradigm. Thus in addition to insisting on the incorporeality of angelic beings, the authors occasionally designate celestial servants — for example, the angels who received the sacrifices from Abraham — as "men." This once again appears to indicate the fluidity of angelic imagery in the Slavonic apocalypse which in many ways stays on the threshold of the *Kavod* and *Shem* traditions, sharing both conceptual worlds.

---

[625] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 19; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 62.

[626] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 25; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 80.

CONCLUSION

Almost twenty years ago Christopher Rowland suggested that the tendency to spiritualize angelic beings and depict them as bodiless and pure spirits in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* might be part of the authors' polemical stand against the anthropomorphic understanding of God.[627] There seems to be no coincidence that these anti-anthropomorphic developments took place in the pseudepigraphon written in the name of the hero of the faith known in Jewish lore for his fight against the idolatrous statues.

That the authors' choice of the hero is purposive can be seen already in the first eight chapters of the pseudepigraphon which take the form of midrashic elaboration of the early years of Abraham who is depicted as a fighter with the idolatrous practices of his father Terah. Well aware of the broader extra-biblical context of Abraham's biography, the authors of the apocalypse are appropriating the patriarch's story for their anticorporeal agenda.[628] In depictions of the idol Bar-Eshath ("the Son of Fire") and some other anthropomorphic statues whose features are strikingly reminiscent of the corporeal portrayals of the Deity in Ezekiel and some other biblical and pseudepigraphical accounts, one can detect a subtle polemics with the divine body traditions.

It has been previously proposed that the authors of the Abrahamic pseudepigrapha directed their polemics beyond the classical theomorphic and angelomorphic depictions found in the Book of Ezekiel and possibly targeted the afterlife of these anthropomorphic developments as they were manifested in the Enochic tradition. In this respect, it is no coincidence that in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* many peculiar Enochic "iconic" portrayals of God and angels became reinterpreted in the new anti-anthropomorphic way. Of course, the iconoclastic story of Abraham was the ideal literary playground for such deconstructions. The anti-anthropomorphic polemical potential of Abraham's story is not limited solely to the *Apocalypse of Abraham* but also includes other pseudepigrapha circulated in the name of the patriarch.

---

[627] Rowland, C. "The Vision of God in Apocalyptic Literature." *JSJ* 10 (1979): 137–154 at 151.

[628] For understanding the background of this story in the *Book of Jubilees*, Josephus, Philo and the later rabbinic materials (*Genesis Rabbah* 38:13, *Tanna debe Eliahu* 2:25, *Seder Eliahu Rabba* 33), see: Box and Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, 88–94; Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 43–9.

Philip Munoa observes that the *Testament of Abraham* exhibits anti-anthropomorphic tendencies in highlighting God's invisibility, repeatedly emphasizing his unseen (ἀόρατος) nature.[629] It appears that the *Testament of Abraham* is even more radical and denies the visionary the possibility of close contact with the Deity. While in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* the visionary has access to the Deity through the audible revelations of the voice of God speaking in the fire, in the *Testament of Abraham* this audible aspect of divine revelation appears to diminish.[630] Munoa stresses that in the *Testament of Abraham* Abraham never hears the voice of God while alive but only after death (*T. Ab.* 20:13–14), and even then without certainty.[631]

In light of the aforementioned developments detected in the Abrahamic pseudepigrapha, the repeated tendency to challenge the traditional anthropomorphic portrayals of celestial beings with the alternative pteromorphic depictions found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* does not appear coincidental. Yet along with insistence on the invisibility of some classes of angelic beings and the Deity himself, the dynamics of the patriarch's celestial trip unavoidably require the protagonist's interaction with other characters of the story. The authors of the apocalypse therefore cannot keep the angelic figures of the narrative completely invisible as the story unfolds and the plot requires the interaction between the visionary and other characters of the celestial realm. In this context pteromorphic angelic imagery seems to serve as a useful device for sustaining the anti-anthropomorphic agenda of the pseudepigraphon without interrupting the dynamics of the patriarch's celestial trip.

---

[629] He illustrates this tendency by referring to the passage from chapter 16 where the following tradition about the invisibility of God can be found: "When Death heard, he shuddered and trembled, overcome by great cowardice; and he came with great fear and stood before *the unseen Father*, shuddering, moaning and trembling, awaiting the Master's demand. Then *the unseen God* said to Death...." (*T. Abr.* 16:3–4). Munoa, *Four Powers in Heaven*, 141.

[630] Munoa, similar to Rowland, sees the *Testament of Abraham* and other Abrahamic pseudepigrapha as the case of ongoing polemics against the anthropomorphic thrust of the Enochic literature. He observes that in contrast with *1 Enoch*, another Hellenistic Jewish text that makes use of Daniel 7, recension A of the *Testament of Abraham* gives prominence to Abel as the enthroned judge without making any reference to Enoch. Recension B does refer to Enoch, but he is in a subservient role to Abel (11:3–10). Munoa concludes that these two apocalyptic works (*Testament of Abraham* and *1 Enoch*) "may be witness to the competing interpretations of different communities — each championing their mediators." Ibid., 145.

[631] Ibid., 141.

"The Gods of My Father Terah": Abraham the Iconoclast and Polemics with the Divine Body Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*

Introduction

It has been previously noted that the *Apocalypse of Abraham* exhibits subtle polemics against an anthropomorphic understanding of God.[632] The second part of this pseudepigraphic text deals with Abraham's celestial ascent to the realm of the divine Chariot. While drawing on some features of the traditional Ezekielian account of the Merkabah,[633] the authors of the apocalypse appear to carefully avoid any references to anthropomorphic portrayals of the Deity, prominent in the classic prophetic account, and instead repeatedly try to depict the divine presence as the formless Voice proceeding in the stream of fire.[634]

---

[632] Rowland, "The Vision of God," 137–54; idem, *The Open Heaven*, 86–7; Orlov, A. "Praxis of the Voice: The Divine Name Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*," 7.1 (2008): 53–70.

[633] Scholars previously noted that the seer's vision of the divine throne found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* "draws heavily on Ezekiel and stands directly in the tradition of Merkabah speculation." Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 183. See also Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 55–7; Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 86–7.

[634] In his comparative analysis of the accounts from Ezekiel and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, Rowland demonstrates that the author of the Slavonic apocalypse, while preserving the angelic depictions of Ezekiel's account, carefully avoids the anthropomorphic description of the *Kavod*, substituting it with the reference to the divine Voice. Rowland concludes that "there appears here to have been a deliberate attempt made to exclude all reference to the human figure mentioned in Ezekiel 1." Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 87.

While the anti-corporeal tendencies discernable in the second, apocalyptic part of the text have already been established in previous studies,[635] no sufficient explanation has been offered of how the first, haggadic part of the pseudepigraphon (chs 1–8), which depicts the patriarch as a fighter against the idolatrous statues of his father Terah, fits into the anti-anthropomorphic agenda of the text's authors.

It is possible that this haggadic portion of the apocalypse, which envisions the hero of the faith as a tester and destroyer of human-like idolatrous figures, plays a pivotal role in the anti-corporeal polemics employed by the authors of the pseudepigraphon. It does not seem coincidental that the arguments against the divine body traditions were situated in the midst of the story of the patriarch known in Jewish pseudepigraphical and rabbinic materials for his distinctive stand against idolatrous figures. It has been observed that besides the *Apocalypse of Abraham* other texts of the Abrahamic pseudepigrapha, such as the *Testament of Abraham*, also deny the possibility that God has a human-like form. Philip Munoa notes that "the *Testament of Abraham* studiously avoids physical description of God when describing Abraham's heavenly ascent and tours of heaven explicitly identifying God with invisible...."[636] Munoa further argues that the *Testament of Abraham* clearly exhibits anti-anthropomorphic tendencies in highlighting God's invisibility,[637] repeatedly emphasizing his unseen (ἀόρατος) nature.[638]

It appears that the iconoclastic thrust of the patriarch's story, elaborated already in the *Book of Jubilees*, offered an ideal literary setting for the unfolding of polemics with traditions of divine corporeality. It is no coincidence that these anti-anthropomorphic developments also appear in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the pseudepigraphon written in the name of

---

[635] See Orlov, "Praxis of the Voice," 53–70.

[636] P. Munoa in *Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism. A Collage of Working Definitions* (forthcoming).

[637] Here the constraints on the visual representation of the Deity are even more demanding than in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, since the authors of the *Testament of Abraham* render the Deity as completely invisible, lacking any visible representation.

[638] Munoa illustrates these tendencies by referring to the passage from chapter 16 where the following tradition about the invisibility of God can be found: "When Death heard, he shuddered and trembled, overcome by great cowardice; and he came with great fear and stood before *the unseen Father*, shuddering, moaning and trembling, awaiting the Master's demand. Then *the unseen God* said to Death...." (*T. Abr.* 16:3–4). Munoa, *Four Powers in Heaven*, 141.

the hero of the faith known in Jewish lore for his opposition to idolatrous figures of the divine.

In view of these tendencies it is likely that in the distinctive depictions of Abraham's struggles with idolatrous anthropomorphic figures manufactured by his father Terah, whose features are strikingly reminiscent of the corporeal portrayals of the Deity found in the Book of Ezekiel and some other biblical and pseudepigraphical accounts, one can detect ongoing polemics with the divine body traditions.[639] The purpose of this study is to explore the possible anti-anthropomorphic tendencies of the first, haggadic portion of the pseudepigraphon that might lie behind the intriguing portrayals of the patriarch as a fighter against corporeal representations of the Deity.

Abraham the Iconoclast: The Background of the Imagery

As has been previously noted, the first eight chapters of the *Apocalypse of Abraham,* a Jewish work likely composed in the early centuries of the Common Era, take the form of a midrashic exposition dealing with the early years of Abraham. This portion of the text depicts the young hero of the faith as a reluctant witness of the idolatrous practices of his immediate family. Such haggadic elaboration of Abraham's story is not an entire novelty created from scratch by the authors of the pseudepigraphon, but rather an important link in the chain of a long-lasting interpretive tradition attested already in the *Book of Jubilees* and further developed by other pseudepigraphical and rabbinic sources.

Although the Genesis account of the early years of Abraham does not elaborate his struggles with idolatry in his father's house, the story found in the *Book of Jubilees* provides a rather lengthy narration of such activities. *Jubilees* 11:16–12:14 portrays the child Abram fiercely resisting the problematic religious routines of his relatives.[640] The text depicts the young hero of

---

[639] For the discussion of the divine body traditions in biblical, pseudepigraphical, and rabbinic materials see Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 143–6, 211–52; idem, "'Without Measure and Without Analogy': The Tradition of the Divine Body in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*." In Orlov, A. *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 149–74. JSJSup., 114. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

[640] "The child [Abram] began to realize the errors of the earth — that everyone was going astray after the statues and after impurity. His father taught him (the art of) writing. When he was two weeks of years [= 14 years], he separated from his father in order not to worship idols with him. He began to pray to the creator of all that would save him from the errors of mankind and that it might not fall

the faith involved in extensive disputations with his father in an attempt to persuade Terah to abandon his abominable practices of manufacturing and serving idols. Although Abram's arguments seem to convince his father, they anger his two brothers. The account ends with Abram setting on fire the temple of idols, an event which leads to the death of Haran who perishes in flames attempting to save the statues. Although the *Jubilees* provides a less elaborated account of the story in comparison with the one found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham,* it attests to a formative initial core of the story which would be expanded or altered by subsequent pseudepigraphical and rabbinic developments.[641]

---

to his share to go astray after impurity and wickedness..... During the sixth week, in its seventh year, Abram said to his father Terah: 'My father.' He said: 'Yes, my son?' He said: 'What help and advantage do we get from these idols before which you worship and prostrate yourself? For there is no spirit in them because they are dumb. They are in error of the mind. Do not worship them. Worship the God of heaven who makes the rain and dew fall on earth and makes everything on earth. He created everything by his word; and all life (comes) from his presence. Why do you worship those things have no spirit in them? For they are made by hands and you carry them on your shoulders. You receive no help from them, but instead they are a great shame for those who make them and an error of the mind for those who worship them. Do not worship them.' Then he said to him: 'I, too, know (this), my son. What shall I do with the people who have ordered me to serve in their presence? If I tell them what is right, they will kill me because they themselves are attached to them so that they worship and praise them. Be quite, my son, so that they do not kill you.' When he told these things to his two brothers and they became angry at him, he remained silent.....

In the sixtieth year of Abram's life (which was the forth week in its forth year), Abram got up at night and burned the temple of the idols. He burned everything in the temple but no one knew (about it). They got up at night and wanted to save their gods from the fire. Haran dashed in to save them, but the fire raged over him. He was burned in the fire and died in Ur of the Chaldeans before his father Terah. They buried him in Ur of the Chaldeans." VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, vol. 2, 67–70.

[641] It should be noted that the subtle allusions to the traditions of the divine form might already be hinted at in the account found in the *Jubilees* which attempts to depict Terah as the priestly figure serving in the "presence of the statues." One of the intriguing parallels here is that similar to the Living Creatures (the *Hayyot*) predestined to carry on their shoulders the divine anthropomorphic extent in the classic Ezekelien account, Terah too carries the idolatrous statues on his shoulders.

The rendering of the story found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* appears to constitute one of the early attempts at such an extensive elaboration. The uniqueness of this account in comparison with the versions preserved in other pseudepigraphical and rabbinic materials is that the many peculiar details of the Slavonic text, including the references to the enigmatic names of various idols manufactured by Terah and their elaborate portrayals appear to be preserved only here. Yet, behind the enigmatic details one can see a persistent ideological tendency. Readers attuned to the theological reluctance of the second, apocalyptic section of the pseudepigraphon to endorse traditions of the divine form, can also detect traces of the same anti-anthropomorphic tendency in the first section of the pseudepigraphon. There, in distinctive depictions of the idols Bar-Eshath, Mar-Umath, and other human-like figures, whose features are reminiscent of the familiar attributes of the anthropomorphic portrayals of the Deity in the Book of Ezekiel and some other biblical and pseudepigraphical accounts, one can discern subtle polemics with the divine body traditions.

Bar-Eshath, the Son of Fire

One of the striking features of the text is the authors' extensive elaboration of idolatrous figures who appear in the pseudepigraphon as independent characters in fierce rivalry with other, human heroes of the text. In depictions of these idols, some of whom become known to the readers by their proper names, one can detect subtle allusions to the imagery prominent in the divine body traditions. The story involving one such idol, Bar-Eshath (Slav. Варисать), appears to stand at the center of the haggadic account of Abraham's fight against idolatry and might indeed constitute one of the most important nexuses in the polemical interactions with the divine body traditions found in the first part of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. The story of this enigmatic figure begins in chapter five where Terah orders his son to gather wooden splinters left from the manufacturing of idols in order to cook a meal. In the pile of wooden chips Abram discovers a small figure whose forehead is decorated with the name Bar-Eshath.[642] The curious young hero of the faith who doubts the power of idols decides to test the supernatural abilities of the wooden statue by putting Bar-Eshath near the "heart of the fire." While leaving the idol near the heat Abram ironically

[642] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 12.

orders him to confine the flames and, in case of emergency, to "blow on the fire to make it flare up."[643]

Yet, the powers of the wooden idol fail to overcome the flames as he is not able to sustain the fiery test. Upon his return the future patriarch discovers the idol fallen with his feet enveloped in the fire and terribly burned. Abram then sees the demise of the idolatrous statue as the flames turn Bar-Eshath into a pile of dust.

Several details in this ironic account of the destroyed anthropomorphic figure that fails the test of the blazing furnace seem to point not only to the stance against idolatry but also to subtle polemics with the divine body ideologies. The first important detail is that the graphic portrayal of the anthropomorphic statue embraced by flames brings to memory familiar depictions found in the biblical theophanic accounts. In this respect it is intriguing that the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse portray the statue of a deity with his feet enveloped in fire. In *Apoc. Ab.* 5:9, Abram conveys that when he returned he "found Bar-Eshath fallen backwards, *his feet enveloped in fire* (нозѣ его обятѣ огнемь)[644] and terribly burned."[645] This detail invokes an important theophanic feature often found in several visionary accounts where the anthropomorphic figure of the Deity is depicted with fiery feet or a fiery lower body.

For example, in the paradigmatic vision recounted in Ezekiel 1, where the seer beholds the anthropomorphic *Kavod*, he describes the fiery nature of the lower body of the Deity. Ezek. 1:27 reads:

> I saw that from what appeared to be his waist up he looked like glowing metal, as if full of fire, and *I saw that from what appeared to be his waist down he looked like fire* (וממראה מתניו ולמטה ראיתי כמראה אש); and brilliant light surrounded him....

A similar depiction can be also found in Ezekiel 8:2 where a visionary again encounters the celestial anthropomorphic manifestation with fiery loins:

> I looked, and there was a figure that looked like a human being; below what appeared to be its loins it was fire, and above the loins it was like the appearance of brightness, like gleaming amber.

---

643 Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 12–3.

644 Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham,* 46.

645 Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 13.

Another important testimony to this prominent motif can be found in the first chapter of the Book of Revelation, a text possibly contemporaneous with the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, which in many aspects shares the theophanic paradigm of the Book of Ezekiel and the Book of Daniel.[646] Rev. 1:15 reads:

> His head and his hair were white as white wool, white as snow; his eyes were like a flame of fire, *and his feet were like burnished bronze, refined as in a furnace* (καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ πεπυρωμένης), and his voice was like the sound of many waters....[647]

It is apparent that the tradition found in the Book of Revelation is related to the one found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* since it refers to the feet of the Deity "refined as in a furnace," a feature which might implicitly point to the theophanic traditions of the fiery test, that will be explored in detail later in our study.

For now, we will focus on another portentous detail of the aforementioned passage found in the Book of Revelation, which might also be linked to the conceptual developments found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham.* This feature concerns the title of the anthropomorphic divine manifestation with fiery feet, a figure whom the Book of Revelation designates using the expression "like a son of man" (ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου). This enigmatic designation deserves special attention. It is no secret that the son of man figure represents an important conceptual locus in the Second Temple anthropomorphic ideologies. This portentous title, which is well known from the Book of Daniel, the *Similitudes of Enoch*, *4 Ezra* and New Testament materials, was often used to label the luminous anthropomorphic manifestations of the Deity. It is possible that this title invokes subtle allusions to the name of the wooden idol of the Slavonic apocalypse.

---

[646] It should be noted that the Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation refer to fiery feet of not only divine but also angelic manifestations: Dan 10:5–6: "I looked up and saw a man clothed in linen, with a belt of gold from Uphaz around his waist. His body was like beryl, his face like lightning, his eyes like flaming torches, his arms and *legs like the gleam of burnished bronze,* and the sound of his words like the roar of a multitude." Rev 10:1: "And I saw another mighty angel coming down from heaven, wrapped in a cloud, with a rainbow over his head; his face was like the sun, and his legs like pillars of fire...."

[647] This tradition is then reaffirmed in Rev 2:18 "These are the words of the Son of God, who has eyes like a flame of fire, and whose feet are like burnished bronze...."

One should recall that the *Apocalypse of Abraham* 5:5 mentions that the idol that the patriarch discovered among the wooden chips in the house of his father was labeled on his forehead as "god Bar-Eshath."[648] Scholars have proposed a Semitic background for this enigmatic name, tracing it to the Aramaic expression (א) בר אשת — "the son of fire." This connection was first noticed by Louis Ginzberg[649] and recently was supported and investigated in depth by Alexander Kulik. Kulik links the origin of the title בר אשת to Mesopotamian traditions of the deities of fire noting that their names were often rendered into Greek by several terminological designations including the Greek word φως.[650]

Kulik's reference to the Greek term φως is intriguing since the term was often used in Jewish theophanic traditions to designate the glorious anthropomorphic manifestations or replicas of the Deity, including the luminous extent of the Protoplast often depicted in such accounts as the celestial Anthropos. These traditions often play on the ambiguity of the term which, depending on accent, can designate either φώς "a man" or φῶς "light," pointing both to the luminous and anthropomorphic nature of the divine body.[651] It seems that the authors of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* might also be cognizant of this correlation of man/light when in *Apoc. Ab.* 23:10 they choose to label the Protoplast as the *light of men* (свѣть чл(о)в(ѣ)чь).[652] It is possible that the play on φως terminology could again be manifested in this enigmatic expression from the Slavonic apocalypse, whose Semitic original many scholars have argued underwent a Greek stage of transmission. In view of these peculiar terminological correlations, is it possible that in the name Bar-Eshath (the "Son of Fire") the play on the ambiguous φως terminology might be present? If so, how could this hypothetical terminological correspondence uniting luminosity and anthropomorphism find its Semitic expression in the original textual framework of the Slavonic apocalypse? In this respect it should be noted that besides the pun on the Greek word φως (man/light) some scholars of Jewish theophanic traditions propose the possibility of another, Semitic pun on אש/איש (fire/man)[653]

---

[648] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 12.

[649] Ginzberg, "Abraham, Apocalypse of." *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, 91–2.

[650] Kulik, A. "The Gods of Nahor: A Note on the Pantheon of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*." *JJS* 54 (2003): 228–32; idem, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 63.

[651] On the φως traditions see Quispel, "Ezekiel 1:26," 6–7; Fossum, *The Name of God*, 280; idem, *The Image*, 16–7; Bunta, *Moses*, 92ff.

[652] Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham,* 88.

[653] Bunta, *Moses*, 111–2.

which might already be manifested in Ezek 8:2.[654] It appears that Ezekelian terminological interplay intensifies the connections between the fiery and anthropomorphic characteristics of the divine Extent. In view of these terminological links it is possible that by naming the anthropomorphic idol as the Son of Fire the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse might have sought to engage the interplay with another prominent Aramaic designation which stands at the centre of Jewish anthropomorphic developments, the title "Son of Man" (בר אנש) which linguistically is very similar to בר אשת.

Our ongoing research will demonstrate that the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse were very familiar with Adamic lore,[655] the mediatorial stream where the correlations between light/man or fire/man were first developed. In view of these developments the possibility of the pun on words "fire" and "man" in the title of Bar-Eshath cannot be completely excluded.

Testing by the Fire

It is time to return to the motif of the fiery test that turned our wooden idol into a pile of dust. The *Apocalypse of Abraham* 7:2 reminds its readers that fire "mocks with its flames the things which perish easily."[656] It appears that the early biblical and extra-biblical testimonies to this tradition of the fiery test hint at the fact that this motif might have originated within anthropomorphic currents. From them one learns that the divine body traditions have their own use of the fiery testing — its purpose is to underline the distinction between true and false representations of the Deity where the divine form's endurance against the element of fire testifies to its authenticity. This theological conviction that the celestial bodies are somehow not consumed by fire and may even be composed of the fiery substance can be found in several places in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* where fiery imagery is often employed in portrayals of divine and angelic manifestations.[657] Moreover it appears that the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse believe that fire represents the substance that surrounds the very presence

---

[654] For the discussion of the terminological interplay אש/איש in Ezek 8:2, see Bunta, *Moses*, 111.

[655] One such development is the repeated portrayal of Terah fashioning idols in the manner similar to the Genesis' depictions of the Deity fashioning the Protoplast.

[656] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 15.

[657] See *Apoc. Ab.* 18:2; 18:3; 18:12; 19:4; 19:6.

of the Deity.[658] Here the authors of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* are drawing on the established visionary tradition already manifested in several biblical accounts, including Exodus' theophany of the burning bush, where the son of Amram encounters the celestial manifestation enveloped by fire but not consumed by its flames. The motif of the celestial form embraced by fire also brings to memory another, already mentioned paradigmatic account found in the first chapter of the Book of Ezekiel, where the seer beholds the divine anthropomorphic extent enveloped by fire or perhaps even composed of it. It is also intriguing that in some Second Temple apocalyptic materials the divine corporealities endure a test of the blazing furnace very similar to the one that destroys the wooden "body" of Bar-Eshath in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. One of the distinctive specimens of such a tradition can be found in Daniel 3, a composition well known for its promulgation of anthropomorphic ideologies. There one can find an elaborate account depicting the appearance of the divine corporeal manifestation in the blazing furnace. In Daniel, the story of the fiery test finds its place, as it does in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, in the midst of debates about the essence of true and false (idolatrous) representations of the Deity. There, Nebuchadnezzar gives orders to put into the furnace of the blazing fire three Israelite youths — Shadrach, Mashach, and Abednego, who refused to worship the golden idol of the king. In the course of the fiery test these three men are rescued by the divine manifestation[659] which miraculously appears in the midst of fire. Commentators of this tradition have noted that the Aramaic text preserves the mystery of the divine presence in the furnace and does not reveal the identity of the divine manifestation. However, the authors of the Greek version of Daniel 3 fill the exegetical lacunae by recounting the story of the angel of the Lord descending into the furnace in order to rescue the three faithful Jews.[660] It is clear that this divine corporeality unharmed by the fiery test is polemically juxtaposed in the text with the idolatrous "image" of the king and appears to be understood as a "statue" superior to the idol created by Nebuchadnezzar. The fiery test of the human bodies of Shadrach, Mashach, and Abednego, who endure the deadly flames along with the divine form, is also noteworthy. The imagery of the blazing furnace in Daniel 3 appears to represent an important theophanic locus where the human corporealities are able to encounter the divine ex-

---

[658] See *Apoc. Ab.* 8:1; 18:2.

[659] Dan 3:25 דמה לבר אלהין (like a son of the gods").

[660] Seow, C. L. *Daniel*, 59. Westminster Bible Companion; Westminster John Knox Press: Louisville, 2003.

tent in the midst of fire. Choon Leong Seow underlines this important theophanic aspect of the passage when he remarks that "the Jews do not only survive the ordeal, they even encounter divine presence in the fire ordeal."[661] He further notes that

> ... the narrator does not say that the four individuals are walking in the furnace, but that they are walking amid the fire... the story is that they are with a divine being *in the midst* of the fire. They encounter divine presence in the middle of the fire. Here, as often in the Old Testament, fire is associated with the presence of God. On Mount Sinai, the presence of God was accompanied by, perhaps even made manifest by, the appearance of fire (Exod. 19:16, 19; 20:18, 21) and in Israel's hymnody fire is often associated with the manifestation of God (e.g., Pss. 18:8–16; 77:17–20)....[662]

In this respect the evidence found in Daniel 3 appears to represent a link in a long-lasting development within the divine body traditions in which several distinguished individuals, including the patriarch Enoch or the prophet Moses, were depicted as enduring the fiery test of the encounter with the dangerous divine extent emitting light and fire. In the course of this deadly encounter these human exemplars often undergo a radical transformation, acquiring for themselves fiery luminous corporealities[663] or "faces." The traditions thus envision these figures as representations of the Deity and even as closely associated with the divine *Kavod* itself.

The authors of the Slavonic apocalypse appear to be cognizant of these theophanic currents when in the story of Bar-Eshath they choose fire as the testing ground for the authenticity of the anthropomorphic figure

---

[661] Seow, *Daniel*, 60.

[662] Ibid., 59, emphasis mine.

[663] *2 Enoch* 22 serves as an early attestation to this tradition. We can find a detailed description of this process in another "Enochic" text, *Sefer Hekhalot*, which describes the transformation of Enoch-Metatron, the Prince of the Divine Presence, into the fiery representation serving as a replica of the divine corporeality: "R. Ishmael said: The angel Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence, the glory of highest heaven, said to me: When the Holy One, blessed be he, took me to serve the throne of glory, the wheels of the chariot and all needs of the Shekinah, at once my flesh turned to flame, my sinews to blazing fire, my bones to juniper coals, my eyelashes to lightning flashes, my eyeballs to fiery torches, the hairs of my head to hot flames, all my limbs to wings of burning fire, and the substance of my body to blazing fire." *3 Enoch* 15:1. Alexander, "3 Enoch," 267.

representing a deity. The Danielic background of the fiery test's motif [664] seems to be also implicitly reaffirmed in the final destiny of Terah (in *Jubilees* — Haran) who in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* 8 perishes in the fire along with his household and idols.[665] These members of Abraham's family, un-

---

[664] Another proof that the fiery test in the apocalyptic account of Abraham's fight against idols might be informed by the Danielic traditions can be supported by the pseudepigraphical and rabbinic testimonies attested in the *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo 6:5–18; *Genesis Rabbah* 38:13, *Tanna debe Eliahu* 2:25, *Seder Eliahu Rabba* 33 where similar to Bar-Eshath the patriarch himself undergoes the fiery test which he unlike the wooden idol successfully passes. *Genesis Rabbah* 38:13 reads: "And Haran died in the presence of his father Terah (xi, 28). R. Hiyya said: Terah was a manufacturer of idols. He once went away somewhere and left Abraham to sell them in his place. A man came and wished to buy one. 'How old are you?' Abraham asked him. 'Fifty years,' was the reply. 'Woe to such a man!' he exclaimed, 'you are fifty years old and worship a day-old object!' At this he became ashamed and departed. On the other occasion a woman came with a plateful of flour and requested him, 'Take this and offer it to them.' So he took a stick, broke them, and put the stick in the hand of the largest. When his father returned he demanded, 'What have you done to them?' 'I cannot conceal it from you,' he rejoined. 'A woman came with a plateful of fine meal and requested me to offer it to them. One claimed, "I must eat first," while another claimed, "I must eat first." Therefore the largest arose, took the stick, and broke them.' 'Why do you make sport of me,' he cried out; 'have they then any knowledge!' 'Should not your ears listen to what your mouth is saying,' he retorted. Thereupon he seized him and delivered him to Nimrod. 'Let us worship the fire!' he [Nimrod] proposed. 'Let us rather worship water, which extinguishes the fire,' replied he. 'Then let us worship water!' 'Let us rather worship the clouds which bear the water.' 'Then let us worship the cloud!' 'Let us rather worship the winds which disperse the clouds.' 'Then let us worship the wind!' '*Let us rather worship human beings,* who withstand the wind.' 'You are just bandying words,' he exclaimed; 'we will worship nought but the fire. Behold, I will cast you into it, and let your God whom you adore come and save you from it.' Now Haran was standing there undecided. If Abram is victorious, [thought he], I will say that I am of Abram's belief, while if Nimrod is victorious I will say that I am on Nimrod's side. When Abram descended into the fiery furnace and was saved, he [Nimrod] asked him, 'Of whose belief are you?' 'Of Abram's,' he replied. Thereupon he seized and cast him into fire; his inwards were scorched and he died in his father's presence. Hence it is written, and Haran died in the presence of (*ʿal pene*) his father Terah." *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 1, 310–11.

[665] *Apoc. Ab.* 8:6 "...when the sound of thunder came forth and burned him and his house and everything in the house, down to the ground [to a distance of] forty cubits." Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 16. *Jub.* 12:14 "... Haran

like Shadrach, Mashach, and Abednego, share the same destiny as idolatrous anthropomorphic figures whom God also turns into piles of ashes.

It has already been noted that, despite the apparent anti-anthropomorphic thrust of the Slavonic pseudepigraphon, the symbolism of fire, so prominent in the biblical theophanies, was not completely abandoned by the authors of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, who repeatedly choose to portray the divine presence through the imagery of the Voice coming in the stream of fire. Here one can see the formative influence of the Deuteronomic tradition with its promulgation of an aural rather than corporeal manifestation of the Deity.[666]

Nevertheless, the symbolism of fire does not remain entirely unambiguous in the Slavonic apocalypse, and it is possible that there one encounters subtle polemics even against this theophanic element prominent in the corporeal ideologies. Thus, although the *Apocalypse of Abraham* also reaffirms the language of fire in its theophanic depiction of the divine

---

dashed in to save them, but the fire raged over him. He was burned in the fire and died in Ur of the Chaldeans before his father Terah. They buried him in Ur of the Chaldeans." VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, vol. 2, 70.

[666] The tendency to substitute anthropomorphic depictions of the Deity with expressions of the divine Voice manifesting itself in the fire, of course, is not a novel development of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* authors, but a specimen of the long-lasting tradition whose roots can be found already in the Book of Deuteronomy. Scholars have long noted a sharp opposition of the book of Deuteronomy and the deuteronomic school to early anthropomorphic developments. In fact, the Deuteronomic school is widely thought to have initiated the polemic against the anthropomorphic and corporeal conceptions of the Deity, which were subsequently adopted by the prophets Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah. Seeking to dislodge ancient anthropomorphism, the book of Deuteronomy and the deuteronomic school promulgated anti-corporeal theology of the divine Name with its conception of sanctuary (tabernacle) as the exclusive dwelling abode of God's name. One can see in the deuteronomic school a paradigm shift of the revelatory axis from the visual to the aural plane. In this new, theo-aural, as opposed to theo-phanic, understanding, even God's revelation to Moses on Mt. Sinai in Exodus 19, an event marking a vital nexus of the visual anthropomorphic paradigm, becomes reinterpreted in the terms of its aural counterpart. Deuteronomy 4:36 describes the Sinai theophany as a hearing of the divine Voice: "Out of heaven he let you hear his voice, that he might discipline you; and on earth he let you see his great fire and you heard his words out of the midst of the fire." On the formative role of the Deuteronomic tradition for the theophanic imagery of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, see Orlov, "Praxis of the Voice," 58–60.

Voice, in the patriarch's speech about the hierarchy of natural elements found in chapter 7 the fire occupies the lowest grade, being easily "subdued" by water, the next element in the hierarchy:

> Fire is the noblest [element] in the image [of the world], since even the things which are [otherwise] unsubdued are subdued in it, and [since] it mocks with its flames the things which perish easily. <But I would not call it a god either, since it is subjugated to water.> Water is indeed nobler, since it overcomes fire and soaks the earth (*Apoc. Ab.* 7:2–4).[667]

MAR-UMATH, THE ONE WHO IS "HEAVIER THAN STONE"

Our study has suggested that the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse appear to be involved in polemics with the divine body traditions by consciously deconstructing theophanic imagery and even technical vocabulary distinctive to the classic anthropomorphic developments. Further support for this hypothesis can be found in the peculiar conceptual elaborations involving another problematic figure of the story — a statue of the stone idol Mar-Umath.

Although the idols produced by Terah are said to be made of gold, silver, copper, iron, wood, stone and other unanimated materials, the authors of the text refer to them as the "bodies" (Slav. тѣла). In view of our previous research pointing to the possibility of polemics with the divine body traditions, this use of "corporeal" terminology does not appear coincidental. It is also intriguing that the context where this corporeal terminology is applied in the apocalypse implicitly invokes the account of creation, an important biblical locus which promulgates anthropomorphic priestly ideology. This creational *topos* shaped by a corporeal motif also appears to be polemically refashioned by the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse. In this new polemical framework, Abraham's father Terah now assumes the place of God and poses as a "creator" of the idolatrous "bodies," a role reminiscent of the protological position of the Deity who once shaped the body of the first human after the likeness of his own image. Thus in *Apoc. Ab.* 6:2–3 the following passage can be found:

> And I [Abraham] said, "How can the creation of the body (створение тѣла) (of the idols) made by him (Terah) be his helper? Or would he have subordinated his body (тѣло) to his soul, his soul to his spirit, then his spirit — to folly and ignorance?"[668]

---

667 Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 15.

668 Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 114.

It is remarkable that the text tells about the "creation of the body" (створеніе тѣла) of the idols, thus clearly applying corporeal terminology to the inanimate objects. More intriguing is that the "corporealities" of the idols, similar to the Genesis account, are placed in an unambiguous connection to the corporeality (тѣло) of their master and creator — the craftsman Terah. As is common in the divine body tradition, the passage also makes an explicit terminological connection between the body of the Master and its corporeal replica.

The terminological choice involving the word "creation" (створеніе) also does not seem coincidental but rather serves as an important pointer to the protological biblical counterpart. In *Apoc. Ab.* 6:7 this term is used again in relation to the idol Mar-Umath.[669]

It has already been noted that, like the account of Bar-Eshath, the story of the stone idol Mar-Umath appears to represent another important nexus in the text where polemical interactions with the divine body traditions unfold in the midst of already familiar imagery.

In the *Apocalypse of Abraham* 1:3–4 the following description of this stone idol is found:

> I, Abraham, having entered their temple for the service, found a god named Mar-Umath, carved out of stone, fallen at the feet of an iron god, Nakhon. And it came to pass, that when I saw this, my heart was troubled. And I fell to thinking, because I, Abraham, was unable to return him to his place all by my self, since he was *heavier* (тяжекъ) than a great stone.[670]

It is possible that the description of Mar-Umath in this passage invokes the technical terminology of the *Kavod* paradigm.

This terminological link with the divine body traditions pertains to the designation of Mar-Umath as "being *heavier* that a great stone." The Slavonic term used here for the word "heavy" — "тяжекъ" appears to be an allusion to the technical terminology reserved for the designation of the divine Glory (*Kavod*) in Ezekelien and priestly materials. There the quality of "heaviness" serves as one of the meanings of the Hebrew word *Kavod*.[671] It appears that the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse know this

---

[669] See also 6:18 "Today I shall create (сътворю) another one...." Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 116.

[670] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 9.

[671] The term כבוד can be also translated as "substance," "body," "mass," "power," "might," "honor," "glory," "splendor." In its meaning "glory" כבוד usu-

facet of the term's meaning and even use it interchangeably for *Kavod* in another passage found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.

Ryszard Rubinkiewicz has argued that the Slavonic term for "heaviness"[672] (Slav. тягота) found in another passage *Apoc. Ab.* 14:13 serves as a technical term for rendering the Hebrew *Kavod*. *Apoc. Ab.* 14:13 reads: ".... Since God gave him [Azazel] the *heaviness* (тяготоу) and the will against those who answer him...."[673]

Rubinkiewicz notes that the original text most likely had כבוד, which has the sense of "gravity," but also of "glory," and the meaning of the verse would be: "the Eternal One ... to him he gave the glory and power." According to Rubinkiewicz, this ambiguity lays at the basis of the Slavonic translation of the verse.[674]

If the term "heaviness" is indeed associated in the mind of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*'s authors with the *Kavod* terminology, it is intriguing that this notion was used solely in the description of the negative protagonists of the text — the stone idol Mar-Umath and the fallen angel Azazel. Such usage might again point to the polemical stance of the authors of the pseudepigraphon against the *Kavod* tradition with its peculiar theophanic imagery.

"A LIKENESS OF THE A CRAFTSMAN'S WORK"

Another important facet of the anti-anthropomorphic thrust of the conceptual deliberations detected in the Slavonic apocalypse pertains to their polemical appropriation of the "likeness" language which often permeates the conceptual core of corporeal theophanic traditions. One will recall that in the paradigmatic theophanic priestly template reflected in the Book of Ezekiel and the first chapter of the Book of Genesis, the language of "likeness" comes to the fore. The authors of the Book of Ezekiel repeatedly strive to describe their vision of the divine and angelic phenomena through

---

ally refers to God, his sanctuary, his city, or sacred paraphernalia. The Priestly tradition uses the term in connection with God's appearances in the tabernacle. P and Ezekiel describe כבוד as a blazing fire surrounded by radiance and a great cloud. Weinfeld, M. "כבוד." *TDOT*, vol. 7, 22–38.

[672] The Slavonic noun "тягота" (*Apoc. Ab.* 14:13) is derived from the same root as the adjective "тяжекъ" (*Apoc. Ab.* 1:4).

[673] Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 150.

[674] Rubinkiewicz points to the presence of the formulae in Lk 4:6 "I will give you all their authority and splendor..."

the language of "likeness." The same tendency is discernable in Genesis 1 where the Deity creates humans in the likeness of his image.

The formulae of "likeness" also looms large in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, but the text's authors use it in a distinctively polemical way. Thus in chapter 25 of the apocalypse, God offers to the seer the vision of the future Temple polluted by the idol of jealousy, an appearance which is conveyed through the language of likeness:

> I saw there *the likeness of the idol of jealousy* (*подобие идола ревнования*), as *a likeness* (*подобие*) of a craftsman's [work] such as my father made, and its statue was of shining copper, and a man before it, and he was worshiping it; and [there was] an altar opposite it and youth were slaughtered on it before the idol. And I said to him, "What is this idol, and what is the altar, and who are those being sacrificed, and who is the sacrificer, and what is the beautiful temple which I see, art and beauty if your glory that lies beneath your throne?" And he said: "Hear Abraham! This temple and altar and the beautiful things which you have seen are my image of *the sanctification of the name of my glory* (*святительства имени славы моея*), where every prayer of men will dwell, and the gathering of kings and prophets, and the sacrifice which shall establish to be made for me among my people coming from your progeny. And the statue you saw is my anger, because the people who will come to me out of you will make me angry. And the man you saw slaughtering is he who angers me. And the sacrifice is the murder of those who are for me a testimony of the close of judgment in the end of the creation (*Apoc. Ab.* 25:1–6).[675]

In this pivotal passage the earlier motifs that readers of the apocalypse encountered in the first section of the pseudepigraphon dealing with the idolatrous practices of Abraham's father are explicitly invoked. The statues similar to those made in the house of Terah ("a likeness (подобие) of a craftsman's [work] such as my father made") are now installed in God's Temple. This idolatrous practice of worshiping the statue of shining copper, labeled in the story as "a likeness (подобие) of a craftsman's work," seems to cautiously invoke the language of "likeness" known from the priestly theophanic paradigm exemplified in Genesis 1:26 and Ezekiel 1. This reference to "craftsman" invokes again the story of Terah and his creation of the idols. The tendency to label the idolatrous figures as "bodies," already detectable in the early chapters, is again reaffirmed here. The idolatrous practices are then contrasted to true worship which is described

---

[675] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 29, emphasis mine. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 92.

in the now familiar language of the aural paradigm of the divine name that denies that the deity can possess a body. Thus the future eschatological temple is portrayed as a dwelling place, not for the abominable shining statue, but for "the image of the *sanctification of the name of my [God's] glory* (*святительства имени славы моея*), where *every prayer of men will dwell* (*в нюже вселится всяка молба мужьска*)."[676] It is apparent that the authors try to reinterpret the technical terminology of the divine Glory tradition by merging it with formulae borrowed from the *Shem* ideology. There is also no doubt that the authors' attitude to the anthropomorphic ideology remains polemical which is unabashedly shown in labeling the shining statue as the idol of jealousy.

CONCLUSION

The elaboration of the story of Abraham's struggle against idols found in the Slavonic apocalypse provides unique insight into the complex world of the Jewish liturgical debates in the early centuries of the Common Era. It was a time when, faced with a wide array of challenges involving the loss of the terrestrial sanctuary, the authors of the Jewish apocalyptic writings tried to embrace other theological alternatives for preserving and perpetuating traditional sacerdotal practices.[677] One such viable tradition was connected with the idea of the celestial sanctuary represented by the divine Chariot.

Of course the concept of the heavenly temple as the locus of liturgical and mystical experience was not an entirely novel development but rather the legacy of the complex theological climate of the Second Temple period when various sacerdotal groups and clans competed for the primacy and authority of their priestly legacy by looking for alternative sacerdotal practices involving the heavenly counterpart of the terrestrial temple. This contention-ridden sacerdotal environment created a whole gallery of ideal priestly figures, including Michael, Yahoel, Enoch, Melchisedek, and Levi, who were depicted as distinguished servants of celestial sanctuaries. In this respect the story of the young hero of the faith who travels from the destroyed terrestrial sanctuary polluted by the idols of his father to the heavenly temple is not an invention of the authors of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* but rather is one of the links in the established literary and mystical tradition attested already in the early booklets of *1 Enoch* where

---

[676] Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 92.

[677] On this issue see Elior, R. *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism*. Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004.

the seventh antediluvian patriarch ascends to the heavenly temple in order to behold the divine *Kavod*.[678] The difference here, however, is that while trying to embrace the liturgical and sacerdotal significance of the journey to the heavenly sanctuary, the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse at the same time appear to be quite reluctant to embrace the visual praxis of the Enochic paradigm and its anthropomorphic tenets. Instead, another, aural praxis involving revelation of the divine Voice and veneration of the divine Name unfolds. Such polemical interaction between two prominent conceptual trends involving the idea of the celestial temple might provide important insights for understanding the character of later Merkabah and Hekhalot developments where the traditions about the divine Form and the divine Name appear to undergo creative conflation.

[678] For a discussion of this tradition, see Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 70–6.

The Watchers of Satanail: The Fallen Angels Traditions in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*

> … they became servants of Satan and led astray those who dwell upon the dry ground.
>
> *1 Enoch* 54:6

> … These are the Watchers (*Grigori*), who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail.
>
> *2 Enoch* 18:3

Introduction

The first part of *2 Enoch*, a Jewish pseudepigraphon written in the first century C.E., deals with the heavenly ascent of the seventh antediluvian hero carried by his angelic psychopomps to the abode of the Deity. Slowly progressing through the heavens while receiving detailed explanations of their content from his angelic interpreters, in one of them, the patriarch encounters the group of the fallen angels whom the authors of the apocalypse designate as the *Grigori* (Watchers).[679] The detailed report of the group's transgression given in chapter 18 of the text which mentions the angelic descent on Mount Hermon, leading to subsequent corruption of humanity and procreation of the race of the Giants, invokes the memory of the peculiar features well known from the classic descriptions of the fall of the infamous celestial rebels given in the *Book of the Watchers*. This early Enochic booklet unveils the misdeeds of the two hundred Watchers

[679] Slav. *Григори(ы)* (Gk. ἐγρήγοροι). Соколов, "Материалы," 16.

led by their leaders Shemihazah and Asael. What is striking, however, in the description given in the Slavonic apocalypse, is that in contrast to the classic Enochic account, the leadership over the fallen Watchers is ascribed not to Shemihazah or Asael, but instead to Satanail.[680] This reference to the figure of the negative protagonist of the Adamic story appears to be not coincidental. The careful examination of other details of the fallen angels traditions found in the Slavonic apocalypse unveils that the transference of the leadership over the Watchers from Shemihazah and Asael to Satanail, represents not a coincidental slip of pen, or a sign of a lack of knowledge of the authentic tradition, but an intentional attempt of introducing the Adamic development into the framework of the Enochic story, a move executed by the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse with a certain theological purpose.

I previously explored the influence of the Adamic story on the Enochic account of the Slavonic apocalypse, especially in the materials of the longer recension, noticing an unusual readiness of its authors for the adoption of traditions and motifs from the Adamic trend, a tendency which appears to be quite surprising for a Second Temple Enochic text.[681]

Indeed, Adam's story occupies a strikingly prominent place in *2 Enoch*. The traditions pertaining to the first human can be found in all the sections of the book. [682] In these materials Adam is depicted as a glorious angelic being, predestined by God to be the ruler of the earth, but falling short of God's expectations. Although the bulk of Adamic materials belongs to the longer recension, which includes, for example, the lengthy Adamic narrative in chapters 30–32, the Adamic tradition is not confined solely to this recension. A number of important Adamic passages are also attested in the shorter recension. The extensive presence of Adamic materials in both recensions and their significance for the theology of the Slavonic apocalypse indicates that they are not later interpolations but are part of the original layer of the text.

It should be noted that such an extensive presence of Adamic materials in the intertestamental Enochic text is quite unusual. In the early Enochic circle reflected in *1 (Ethiopic) Enoch*, Adam does not figure prominently.

---

[680] Slav. *Сатанаил*. Соколов, "Материалы," 16.

[681] Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 211–52; idem, "'Without Measure and Without Analogy'," 149–74; idem, "On the Polemical Nature of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch: A Reply to C. Böttrich." In idem, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism*, 239–68.

[682] *2 Enoch* 30:8–32:2; 33:10; 41:1; 42:5; 44:1; 58:1–3; 71:28.

His presence in these materials is marginal and limited to a few insignificant remarks. Moreover, when the authors of the early Enochic booklets invoke the memory of Adam and Eve, they try to either ignore or "soften" the story of their transgression and fall in the garden. Scholars previously noticed this remarkable leniency of the Enochic writers towards the mishap of the protological couple in the texts "concerned with judgment and accountability."[683]

This either modest or unusually positive profile which the Protoplasts enjoy in the early Enochic circle can be explained by several factors. Scholars previously observed that early Enochic and Adamic traditions appear to be operating with different mythologies of evil.[684] The early Enochic tradition bases its understanding of the origin of evil on the Watchers' story in which the fallen angels corrupt human beings by passing on to

---

[683] Kelley Coblentz Bautch notes that "the portrayal of the [first] couple is softened in the Book of the Watchers; like 'the holy ones' mentioned in 1 En 32:3, they eat from the tree and are made wise (cf. Gen 3:6). No references are made to the serpent, deception, the reproach of God, and additional punishments that figure prominently in the Genesis account. In a text concerned with judgment and accountability, Adam and Eve do not appear as actors in the eschatological drama ... the Animal Apocalypse from the Book of Dream Visions seems even more favorable in its depiction of the first couple. The Animal Apocalypse opts to recast exclusively events familiar from Gen 2 and 4.... [it] does not offer a recitation of the fall in the garden. There is no tree, forbidden or otherwise, no illicit gain of knowledge, no expulsion from Eden, and no recapitulation of any part of Gen 3...." Coblentz Bautch, K. "Adamic traditions in the Parables? A Query on *1 Enoch* 69:6." In Boccaccini, G., ed. *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*, 352–60 at 353–4. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.

[684] In this respect Bautch observes that "... discussion of the Enochic corpus frequently takes up the literature's distinctive view of evil. As is commonly asserted, Enochic texts posit that evil originates with the rebellious watchers who descend to earth: their prohibited union with women and teaching of forbidden arts lead to the contamination of the human sphere (for example, 1 En 6–11). This observation has led contemporary scholars to delineate two contrasting trends within Second Temple Judaism: one rooted in early Enochic texts like the Book of the Watchers where evil develops as a result of the angels' sin, and the other that understands sin to be the consequence of human failings (e.g., Gen 3)." Coblentz Bautch, "Adamic traditions, 354–5. On the subject of two mythologies of evil see also Reeves, J. *Sefer 'Uzza Wa-'Aza(z)el: Exploring Early Jewish Mythologies of Evil*, forthcoming; Stone, "The Axis," 144–9.

them various celestial secrets.[685] In contrast, the Adamic tradition traces the source of evil to Satan's transgression and the fall of Adam and Eve in Eden — the trend which is hinted at in Genesis 3 and then fully reflected in the Primary Adam Books which explain the reason for Satan's demotion by his rejection to obey God's command to venerate a newly created Protoplast.[686]

While in the early Enochic circle the presence of the Adamic traditions appears to be either marginalized or silenced — it looms large in *2 Enoch*. In my previous research I suggested that the extensive presence of the Adamic motifs in the Slavonic apocalypse has a profound conceptual significance for the overall theological framework of the Slavonic apocalypse.[687] It appears that the purpose of the extensive presence of Adamic themes in *2 Enoch* can be explained through the assessment of Enoch's image in the text who is portrayed in the Slavonic apocalypse as the Second Adam — the one who is predestined to regain the original condition of the Protoplast once lost by the first humans in Eden.[688] In this context many

---

[685] John Reeves in his forthcoming research on the early Jewish mythologies of evil provides a helpful description of the main tenets of the Enochic paradigm of the origin of evil (or what he calls the "Enochic Template"). According to this template: "evil first enters the created world through the voluntary descent and subsequent corruption of a group of angels known as the Watchers. Their sexual contact with human women renders them odious to God and their former angelic colleagues in heaven; moreover, they also betray certain divine secrets to their lovers and families. The offspring of the Watchers and mortal women, an illegitimately conceived race of bloodthirsty 'giants,' wreak havoc on earth and force God to intervene forcefully with the universal Flood. The corrupt angels are captured and imprisoned, their monstrous children are slain, and humanity is renewed through the family of Noah. Noticeably absent from this particular scheme are references to Adam and Eve, the garden of Eden, or the serpent...." Reeves, *Sefer 'Uzza Wa-'Aza(z)el.*

[686] Reeves provides the description of the main features of what he called the "Adamic Template," noticing the following crucial points: "(1) God resolves to create the first human being, Adam; (2) after Adam's creation, all the angels in heaven are bidden to worship him; (3) a small group of angels led by Satan refuse to do so; (4) as a result, this group is forcibly expelled from heaven to earth; and (5) in order to exact revenge, these angels plot to lead Adam and subsequent generations of humans astray...." Reeves, *Sefer 'Uzza Wa-'Aza(z)el.*

[687] Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 211–4.

[688] On the tradition of Enoch as the second Adam, see Alexander, "From Son of Adam," 102–4; Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," 220–40.

features of the exalted prelapsarian Adam are transferred to the seventh antediluvian hero in an attempt to hint at his status as the new Protoplast, who restores humanity to its original state. This new protological profile of the elevated Enoch in the Slavonic apocalypse thus can serve as an important clue for understanding the necessity of the extensive presence of the Adamic traditions in *2 Enoch*.

Moreover, it appears that the appropriation of the Adamic lore in *2 Enoch* is not limited solely to the figure of the main positive protagonist — the seventh antediluvian patriarch, but also extended to the story of the negative angelic counterparts of the Enochic hero — the Watchers whose portrayals in the Slavonic apocalypse also become enhanced with novel features of the Adamic mythology of evil, and more specifically, with the peculiar traits of the account of its infamous heavenly rebel — Satan. Such interplay and osmosis of two early paradigmatic trends, which in John Reeves' terminology is designated as the mixed or transitional template, has long-lasting consequences for both "mythologies of evil" and their afterlife in rabbinic and patristic environments.[689] The purpose of this paper is to explore the Adamic reworking of the Watchers traditions in the Slavonic apocalypse and its significance for subsequent Jewish mystical developments.

I. *2 Enoch* 7: The Watchers in the Second Heaven

There are two textual units pertaining to the Watchers traditions in *2 Enoch*. One of them is situated in chapter seven. The chapter describes the patriarch's arrival in the second heaven where he sees the group of the guarded angelic prisoners kept in darkness. Although chapter seven does not identify this group directly as the Watchers, the description of their transgressions hints to this fact. The second unit is situated in chapter eighteen which describes Enoch's encounter with another angelic gathering in the fifth heaven, the group which this time is directly identified as the Watchers (*Grigori*). Although our study of the traditions of the fallen angels in the Slavonic apocalypse will deal mainly with these two passages found in chapters seven and eighteen, some attention will be paid also to the Satanail traditions situated in chapters twenty nine and thirty one.

---

[689] Reeves detects the presence of the so-called "mixed template" that combines features of Adamic and Enochic "mythologies of evil" already in the *Book of Jubilees*. Reeves, *Sefer 'Uzza Wa-'Aza(z)el.*

Traces of the Enochic Template

In chapter 7 of the longer recension of *2 Enoch* the following description is found:

> ... And those men picked me up and brought me up to the second heaven. And they showed me, and I saw a darkness greater than earthly darkness. And there I perceived prisoners under guard, hanging up, waiting for the measureless judgment. And those angels have the appearance of darkness itself, more than earthly darkness. And unceasingly they made weeping, all the day long. And I said to the men who were with me, "Why are these ones being tormented unceasingly?" Those men answered me, "These are those who turned away from the Lord, who did not obey the Lord's commandments, but of their own will plotted together and turned away with their prince and with those who are under restraint in the fifth heaven." And I felt very sorry for them; and those angels bowed down to me and said to me, "Man of God, pray for us to the Lord!" And I answered them and said, "Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? Who knows where I am going and what will confront me? Or who indeed will pray for me?"[690]

Several scholars have previously recognized the connection of this passage about the incarcerated angels with the Watchers traditions.[691] One of these scholars, John Reeves, argues that

---

[690] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 112–4. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 7 has the following form: "And those men took me up to the second heaven. And they set me down on the second heaven. And they showed me prisoners under guard, in measureless judgment. And there I saw the condemned angels, weeping. And I said to the men who were with me, 'Why are they tormented?' The men answered me, 'They are evil rebels against the Lord, who did not listen to the voice of the Lord, but they consulted their own will.' And I felt sorry for them. The angels bowed down to me. They said, 'Man of God, please pray for us to the Lord!' And I answered them and said, 'Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? And who knows where I am going or what will confront me? Or who will pray for me?'" Andersen, "2 Enoch," 113–5.

[691] A. Rubinstein observes that "... there is evidence that the Slavonic Enoch is dependent on some features which are known only from the Ethiopic Enoch only. There can be little doubt that the Slavonic Enoch has a good deal in common with the Ethiopic Enoch, though the differences between the two are no less striking." Rubinstein, A. "Observation on the Slavonic Book of Enoch." *JJS* 13 (1962): 6.

> ... this particular text obviously refers to the angelic insurrection that took place in the days of Jared, the father of Enoch. The prisoners in this "second heaven" are in fact those Watchers who violated the divinely decreed barriers separating heaven and earth by taking human wives and fathering bastard offspring, the infamous Giants....[692]

Another scholar, James VanderKam expresses a similar conviction when he remarks that the angelic group depicted in chapter seven "remind us of the Watchers and their mutual oath to commit the deeds that led to their imprisonment in *1 Enoch* 6–11."[693]

VanderKam's suggestion that the theme of the angels "plotting together" found in *2 Enoch* 7 might allude to the Watchers' council on Mount Hermon and their mutual oath is important. The Watchers tradition reflected later in the text in chapter 18 further strengthens the possibility that the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse were familiar with the early Enochic tradition of the bounding oath taken by the Watchers on the infamous mountain.[694]

Another important detail that hints to the possibility of the presence of the Watchers tradition in the passage is that the angels choose to ask the patriarch about interceding with God. This request for intercession before God appears to allude to the unique role of the seventh antediluvian hero reflected already in the earliest Enochic booklets where he is depicted as the envoy bringing petitions of intercession to God on behalf of this rebellious angelic group. John Reeves suggests[695] that the petition pressed upon the exalted patriarch by the imprisoned angels in *2 Enoch* 7 is reminiscent of the language found in the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 13:4)[696] where the Watchers ask the patriarch to write for them a prayer of

---

[692] Reeves, J. "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library." In Idem, ed. *Tracing the Treads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha.* 185. EJL, 6, Atlanta: Scholars, 1994.

[693] VanderKam, *Enoch*, 159.

[694] The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 18:4 reads: "And they *broke the promise* on the shoulder of Mount Ermon." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 132.

[695] "... identity [of the imprisoned angels] as rebellious Watchers is further underscored by the petition they press upon Enoch ...." Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library," 185.

[696] This connection was also mentioned by Robert Henry Charles who noticed that "the angels ask Enoch to intercede for them, as in 1 En. xiii.4," Charles, R. H., ed. *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. 2, 433, note 4. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913. 2 vols.

intercession.[697] From *1 Enoch* 13:6–7 we learn that this prayer was prepared by the seventh antediluvian hero and later was delivered by him in a vision to the Creator.[698]

All these features demonstrate that the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse appear to be well cognizant of some peculiar details of early versions of the Watchers story and were using these various characteristics of the early Enochic template in their depiction of the group of incarcerated angels in chapter seven, thus implicitly hinting to their audience at the angels' identity as the Watchers.

Finally there is another piece of evidence that further confirms the identity of the mysterious imprisoned group as the Watchers. Although the angelic group kept under guard in the second heaven is not directly identified in chapter seven as the Watchers, this chapter connects the unnamed angels with another celestial gathering which the patriarch will encounter later in the fifth heaven. *2 Enoch* 7 anticipates this encounter when it explains that the group in the second heaven "turned away with their prince and *with those who are under restraint in the fifth heaven.*" Later upon his arrival to the fifth heaven the patriarch sees there another angelic group which his celestial guides identify as *Grigori* (Slav. *Григори*)[699] — the Watchers. During that identification a reference is also made to the group in the second heaven which puts this group also in the category of the Watchers: "These are the Grigori (Watchers), who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail. And *similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are in the second heaven, imprisoned in great darkness.*" Later, in *2 Enoch* 18:7, when Enoch himself addresses the Watchers he tells them that he saw "their brothers" and "prayed for them." These details again appear to be alluding to the group in the second heaven

---

[697] "And they asked me to write out for them the record of a petition that they might receive forgiveness and to take the record of their petition up to the Lord in heaven." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 93.

[698] "And then I wrote out the record of their petition and their supplication in regard to their spirits and the deeds of each one of them, and in regard to what they asked, (namely) that they should obtain absolution and forbearance. And I went and sat down by the waters of Dan in Dan which is south-west of Hermon and I read out the record of their petition until I fell asleep." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 93–4.

[699] Соколов, "Материалы," 16.

who earlier asked the patriarch to pray for them.[700] As we can see the two angelic groups in the second and fifth heavens are interconnected by the authors of the apocalypse through the set of cross-references situated in both chapters.

Traces of the Adamic Template

We began our study by mentioning that the Watchers account situated in chapter 18 exhibits the clear features of Adamic tradition when it names Satanail as the leader of the fallen Watchers. In the light of this later reaffirmation, it is also possible that the subtle traces of the Adamic template may already be present even in the description found in chapter seven.

A close look at chapter 7 demonstrates that along with implicit traces of the Enochic traditions of the fallen Watchers the passage also exhibits some familiarities with the Adamic mythology of evil by recalling some features of the story of Satan's fall.

One of the pieces of evidence that catches the eye here is the peculiar title "prince" by which the passage describes the leader of the incarcerated angels. Already Robert Henry Charles noticed that although the passage found in chapter 7 does not directly name Satanail as the leader of the rebellious angels, the reference to the fact that they "turned away *with their prince*" (Slav. *с князом своим*)[701] invokes the similar terminology applied to Satanail later in chapter 18:3 which tells that the Watchers (*Grigori*) turned aside from the Lord together *with their prince* (Slav. *с княземъ своимъ*)[702] Satanail.[703] Charles' suggestion appears to be plausible, and in the light of the identical formulae attested in chapter 18 it is possible that the Sataniel tradition is already present in *2 Enoch* 7. If it is so, here for the first time in the Slavonic apocalypse the chief negative protagonist of the Adamic lore becomes identified as the leader of the fallen Watchers.

---

[700] George Nickelsburg notices that the division of the fallen angels into two groups is also reminiscent of some early Enochic developments attested already in *1 Enoch*. He observes that "in his description of the rebel angels the seer distinguishes between two groups, as does *1 Enoch*: the *egregoroi* ('watchers'), who sinned with the women (*2 Enoch* 18); and their 'brethren' (18:7), called 'apostates' (chap. 7), who may correspond to the angels as revealers." Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 222.

[701] Соколов, "Материалы," 6.

[702] Ibid., 16.

[703] "their prince = Satanail, xviii, 3," Charles, *The Apocrypha*, vol. 2, 433, n. 3.

Another possible piece of evidence that hints to the presence of the Adamic mythology of evil in *2 Enoch* 7 is connected with the motif of the imprisoned angels bowing down before Enoch. Both recensions of *2 Enoch* 7:4 portray the incarcerated angels in the second heaven as bowing down before the translated patriarch asking him to pray for them before the Lord.

I previously argued[704] that this tradition of angels bowing down before Enoch appears to stem from an Adamic mythology of evil[705] since it invokes the peculiar details of the Satan story attested in the Primary Adam Books[706] and some other Jewish, Christian and Muslim materials.[707] In order to clarify the Adamic background of the Watchers tradition found in *2 Enoch* 7 one should take a short excursus in the later Enochic developments reflected in the Hekhalot materials.

In the later Enochic composition, known to us as the *Sefer Hekhalot* or *3 Enoch*, the Adamic motif of the angelic veneration similar to *2 Enoch*

---

[704] Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 221–2.

[705] The motif of the prostration of angelic beings, including the Watchers, before the seventh antediluvian hero is unknown in the early Enochic circle reflected in *1 Enoch*. A possible reference to another tradition of prostration — the theme of the *giants* bowing down before the patriarch might be reflected in the *Book of Giants* [4Q203 *Frag.* 4:6]: "they bowed down and wept in front [of Enoch ...]." García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, vol. 1, 409. Although the passage is extant in a very fragmentary form and the name of Enoch is not mentioned, Józef Tadeusz Milik, Siegbert Uhlig, and Florentino García Martínez have suggested that the figure before whom the giants prostrate themselves is none other than Enoch himself. For the discussion of this tradition see Stuckenbruck, L. *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary*, 75–6. TSAJ, 63. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1997.

[706] The account of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels is found in Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve* 13–15. These versions depict God's creation of Adam in his image. The first man was then brought before God's face by the archangel Michael to bow down to God. God commanded all the angels to bow down to Adam. All the angels agreed to venerate the protoplast, except Satan (and his angels) who refused to bow down before Adam, because the first human was "younger" ("posterior") to Satan.

[707] The Slavonic version of *3 Baruch* 4; *Gospel of Bartholomew* 4, Coptic *Enthronement of Michael*, *Cave of Treasures* 2:10–24, and *Qur'an* 2:31–39; 7:11–18; 15:31–48; 17:61–65; 18:50; 20:116–123; 38:71–85. The traces of the motif of veneration seem also present in the Temptation narrative of the Gospel of Matthew, where Satan asks Jesus to prostrate himself before Satan.

also appears to be placed in the context of the Watchers tradition(s). Thus, *3 Enoch* 4 depicts the angelic leaders Uzza, Azza, and Azael, the characters whose names are reminiscent of the names of the leaders of the fallen Watchers,[708] as bowing down before Enoch-Metatron.

There are scholars who view this motif of angels bowing down before Enoch found in *Sefer Hekhalot* as a relatively late development which originated under the influence of the rabbinic accounts of the veneration of humanity.[709] Yet, there are other researchers who argue for early "pseudepigraphical" roots of this Hekhalot tradition of the angelic veneration of Enoch. One of these scholars, Gary Anderson, previously noticed the early pseudepigraphical matrix of this peculiar development present in *Sefer Hekhalot* and its connections with the primordial veneration of the Protoplast in the paradigmatic Adamic story where Satan and his angels refuse to bow down before the first human.[710] Moreover, some conceptual developments detected in *2 Enoch* also point to early pseudepigraphical roots of the tradition of veneration of Enoch by angels. Scholars previously suggested that the Adamic motif of angelic veneration was transferred in the Enochic context not in the later Hekhalot or rabbinic materials but already in *2 Enoch* where the angels are depicted as bowing down several times before

---

[708] Annette Reed suggested that the tradition about Uzza, Azza, and Azael is "reflecting direct knowledge of the account of the fall of the angels in *1 Enoch* 6–11." Reed, A. Y. "From Asael and Šemihazah to Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael: 3 Enoch 5 (§§ 7–8) and Jewish Reception-History of 1 Enoch." *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 8 (2001): 110.

[709] On the tradition of the veneration of humanity in rabbinic literature see Altmann, A. "The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends." *JQR* 35 (1945): 371–91; Barc, "La taille cosmique d'Adam," 173–85; Fossum, "The Adorable Adam," 529–39; Quispel, "Der gnostische Anthropos," 195–234; idem, "Ezekiel 1:26," 1–13; Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, 108–15.

[710] Commenting on *3 Enoch* 4, Gary Anderson suggests that if "we remove those layers of the tradition that are clearly secondary ... we are left with a story that is almost identical to the analog we have traced in the Adam and Eve literature..." Anderson, "The Exaltation," 107. He further notes that the acclamation of Enoch as the "Youth" in *Sefer Hekhalot* is pertinent since the reason *3 Enoch* supplies for this title is deceptively simple and straightforward: "Because I am young in their company and a mere youth among them in days and months and years — therefore they call me 'Youth.'" Anderson proposes that the title might have Adamic origins since the explanation for the epithet "Youth" recalls the reason for the angelic refusal to worship Adam in the *Vita* on the basis of his inferiority to them by way of his age. Anderson, "The Exaltation," 108.

the seventh antediluvian hero. Besides the previously mentioned tradition of the imprisoned angels bowing down before Enoch found in chapter seven there is another, even more explicit appropriation of the motif of angelic veneration, found in *2 Enoch* 21– 22 where God tests angels by asking them to venerate Enoch. These chapters depict Enoch's arrival at the edge of the seventh heaven. There, God invites Enoch to stand before him forever. The Deity then tells his angels, sounding them out: "Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!" In response to this address, the angels do obeisance to Enoch saying, "Let Enoch yield in accordance with your word, O Lord!"[711] Michael Stone previously noticed that the story found in *2 Enoch* 21–22 is reminiscent of the account of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels found in the *Life of Adam and Eve.*[712] Stone notes that, along with the motifs of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels, the author of *2 Enoch* appears also to be aware of the motif of angelic disobedience and refusal to venerate the first human. Stone draws the reader's attention to the phrase "sounding them out," found in *2 Enoch* 22:6, which another translation of the Slavonic text rendered as "making a trial of them."[713] Stone notes that the expression "sounding them out" or "making a trial of them" implies here that it is the angels' obedience that is being tested. Further comparing the similarities between Adamic and Enochic accounts, Stone observes that the order of events in *2 Enoch* exactly duplicates the order found in the primary Adam books. Stone concludes that the author of *2 Enoch* 21–22 was cognizant of the traditions resembling those found in Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve.* He also emphasizes that these traditions did not enter *2 Enoch* from the Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve*, because this form of the tradition does not occur in the Slavonic *Vita.*[714]

Keeping in mind these remarkable parallels it is now time to return to the tradition of Enoch's veneration by the incarcerated angels found in chapter seven of *2 Enoch* in order to further explore its connection with the Adamic story of angelic veneration.

Several details of the story from *2 Enoch* 7 seem also to be alluding to the Adamic template:

---

[711] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 136, 138.

[712] Stone, "The Fall of Satan," 47–8.

[713] Morfill, W. R., and R. H. Charles. *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, 28. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1896.

[714] Stone, "The Fall of Satan," 47–8.

a. In *2 Enoch* 7, similar to the Adamic accounts, the sin of the imprisoned angels is disobedience to the Lord's commandments.
b. The agents of the rebellion are a group of angels with "their prince." This recalls the information found in the Adamic accounts where not only Satan, but also other angels under him, refuse to venerate Adam. As we remember, the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 18:3 directly identifies the prisoners of the second heaven as the angels of Satanail.
c. Finally, in the text the imprisoned angels bow down before a human being (Enoch). An additional important detail here is that the patriarch is addressed by the fallen angels as a "man" — "a man of God." The combination of the motif of angelic bowing with a reference to the human nature of the object of veneration is intriguing and again might point to the protological Adamic account where some angels bow down before the human and others refuse to do so.

II. *2 Enoch* 18: The Watchers in the Fifth Heaven

Traces of the Enochic Template

It is time now to proceed to the second textual unit dealing with the Watchers traditions situated in chapter 18 of the Slavonic apocalypse. In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 18 the following description can be found:

> ... And those men took me up on their wings and placed me on the fifth heaven. And I saw there many innumerable armies called Grigori. And their appearance was like the appearance of a human being, and their size was larger than that of large giants. And their faces were dejected, and the silence of their mouths was perpetual. And there was no liturgy in the fifth heaven. And I said to the men who were with me, "What is the explanation that these ones are so very dejected, and their faces miserable, and their mouths silent? And (why) is there no liturgy in this heaven?" And those men answered me, "These are the Grigori, who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail. And similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are in the second heaven, imprisoned in great darkness. And three of them descended (*сошьшася три*) to the earth from the Lord's Throne onto the place Ermon. And they broke the promise on the shoulder of Mount Ermon. And they saw the daughters of men, how beautiful they were; and they took wives for themselves, and the earth was defiled by their deeds. Who ... in the entire time of this age acted lawlessly and practiced miscegenation and gave birth to giants and great

> monsters and great enmity. And that is why God has judged them with a great judgment; and they mourn their brothers, and they will be outrages on the great day of the Lord." And I said to the Grigori, "I have seen your brothers and their deeds and their torments and their great prayers; and I have prayed for them. But the Lord has sentenced them under the earth until heaven and earth are ended forever." And I said, "Why are you waiting for your brothers? And why don't you perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord? Start up your liturgy, and perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord, so that you do not enrage your Lord God to the limit." And they responded to my recommendations, and they stood in four regiments in this heaven. And behold, while I was standing with those men, 4 trumpets trumpeted in unison with a great sound, and the Grigori burst into singing in unison. And their voice rose in front of the face of the Lord, piteously and touchingly.[715]

Already in the very beginning of this passage the angelic hosts situated in the fifth heaven are designated as *Grigori* (Slav. *Григори*),[716] the term which

---

[715] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 130–2. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 18 has the following form: "And the men picked me up from there and carried me away to the fifth heaven. And I saw there many armies and Grigori. And their appearance was like the appearance of a human being, and their size was larger than that of large giants. And their faces were dejected, and the silence of their mouths .... And there was no liturgy taking place in the fifth heaven. And I said to the men who were with me, 'Forwhat reason are they so dejected, and their faces miserable, and their mouths silent? And why is there no liturgy in this heaven?' And the men answered me, 'These are the Grigori, 200 princes of whom turned aside, 200 walking in their train, and they descended to the earth, and they broke the promise on the shoulder of Mount Hermon, to defile themselves with human wives. And, when they defile themselves, the Lord condemned them. And these ones mourn for their brothers and for the outrage which has happened.' But I, I said to the Grigori, 'I, I have seen your brothers and I have understood their accomplishments and I knew their prayers; and I have prayed for them. And now the Lord has sentenced them under the earth until heaven and earth are ended. But why are you waiting for your brothers? And why don't you perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord? Start up the former liturgy. Perform the liturgy in the name of fire, lest you annoy the Lord your God (so that) he throws you down from this place.' And they heeded the earnestness of my recommendation, and they stood in four regiments in heaven. And behold, while I was standing, they sounded with 4 trumpets in unison, and the Grigori began to perform the liturgy as with one voice. And their voices rose up into the Lord's presence." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 131–3.

[716] Robert Henry Charles was the first scholar who clarified the terminological background of the Slavonic word "*Grigori*." He observed that "these are the

represents "a transcription of the Greek word for the Watchers."[717] Unlike in chapter 7, where the identity of the celestial gathering remains rather uncertain, here the authors of the text explicitly choose to name the angelic group. The text then provides some details of the angels' appearance. When the Slavonic apocalypse describes them, an intriguing comparison is made about the size of these angelic hosts, who are depicted as beings "larger than the large giants" — a reference which might also invoke the Giants traditions — a conceptual trend which in early Enochic booklets is often intertwined with the Watchers story.

The text then describes the Watchers' faces as being dejected, emphasizing also their perpetual silence. Enoch, who appears to be puzzled by the view of this silent and depressive angelic company, then asks his angelic guides about their strange dejected looks and their non-participation in the angelic liturgy. In response he hears the story that further provides the array of crucial motifs that invoke the memory of the account of the Watchers' descent as it is described in the early Enochic circle. Two significant details here are the references to the number of the descended Watchers as two hundred (myriads)[718] and the designation of the place of their descent on earth as Mount Hermon (Slav. *Ермон/гора Ермонская*). It is well-known that the numeral two hundred in relation to the descended Watchers is attested already in the *Book of the Watchers* — one of the earliest Enochic booklets, whose text also locates the place of the Watchers' descent at Mount Hermon.[719]

2 Enoch 18:4 then supplies another portentous detail by describing how the Watchers *broke the promise* on the shoulder of Mount Hermon. The reference to the "promise" (Slav. *обещание*)[720] that the Watchers "broke" on

---

Watchers, the ἐγρήγοροι, or עירים, of whom we have so full accounts in 1 En. vi-xvi, xix, lxxxvi." Charles, *The Apocrypha*, vol. 2, 439.

[717] VanderKam, *Enoch*, 159. It is intriguing that the authors of the Slavonic translation of *2 Enoch* choose to keep this word in its Greek phonetical form, possibly envisioning it as a technical term.

[718] Some mss of *2 Enoch* speak about 200 descended Watchers, others about 200 myriads of descended Watchers. Cf. the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 18:3 "These are the Grigori, 200 princes of whom turned aside, 200 walking in their train ...." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 131.

[719] *1 Enoch* 6:6 "And they were in all two hundred, and they came down on Ardis which is the summit of Mount Hermon." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 67–9.

[720] Соколов, "Материалы," 16.

the shoulder of the infamous mountain is intriguing and appears to hint to the early Enochic tradition of the binding oath taken by the Watchers. The passage found in chapter 6 of the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 6:3–6) unveils the motifs of mysterious promises and curses with which the rebellious angels decided to bind themselves, thus securing their ominous mission and fellowship.[721]

The descriptions of the Watchers' transgressions provided in *2 Enoch* 18 are also noteworthy. The references to the Watchers' marriage to the human women, the procreation of the race of monstrous Giants, the enmity and evil that this infamous bastard offspring created on earth — all these features again betray the authors' familiarity with early Watchers and Giants traditions attested already in *1 Enoch* 7.[722] It is also curious that *2 Enoch* specifically emphasizes the sin of interbreeding (miscegenation) (Slav. *смешение*),[723] an important sacerdotal concern of intermarriage that looms large in the early Enochic circle.

Another typical "Enochic" detail of chapter 18 is the reference to God's sentencing the Watchers under the earth "until heaven and earth are ended forever." This motif also appears to stem from the early Enochic lore where the fallen Watchers are depicted as imprisoned under the earth until the day of the final judgment.

All aforementioned details point to familiarity of the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse with the features of the original Enochic template.

Yet, despite the efforts of the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse to harmonize the plethora of early Enochic motifs into a coherent symbolic

---

[721] *1 Enoch* 6:3–5 "And Semyaza, who was their leader, said to them: 'I fear that you may not wish this deed to be done, and (that) I alone will pay for this great sin.' And they all answered him and said: 'Let us all swear an oath, and bind one another with curses not to alter this plan, but to carry out this plan effectively.' Then they all swore together and all bound one another with curses to it." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 67–9.

[722] *1 Enoch* 7:1–6 "And they took wives for themselves, and everyone chose for himself one each. And they began to go in to them and were promiscuous with them. .... And they became pregnant and bore large giants, and their height (was) three thousand cubits. These devoured all the toil of men, until men were unable to sustain them. And the giants turned against them in order to devour men. And they began to sin against birds, against animals, and against reptiles and against fish, and they devoured one another's flesh and drank the blood from it. Then the earth complained about the lawless ones." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 76–9.

[723] Соколов, "Материалы," 16.

universe, the Watchers' account reflected in chapter 18 appears to be not entirely without contradictions. One of the puzzles here is a discrepancy about the location of the angelic group encountered by the patriarch earlier — the incarcerated rebels, whose memory is invoked again and again in chapter 18.

Thus, in 18:3 Enoch's angelic guides connect the Watchers in the fifth heaven with the angelic group in the second heaven depicted earlier in chapter 7:

> And similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are *in the second heaven*, imprisoned in great darkness. (*2 Enoch* 18:3).

Later, in verse seven, Enoch himself reaffirms this connection between the two angelic groups when he unveils to the Watchers in the fifth heaven the sad destiny of their rebellious brothers in the lower realm:

> And I said to the Grigori, "I have seen your brothers and their deeds and their torments and their great prayers; and I have prayed for them. But the Lord has sentenced them *under the earth* until heaven and earth are ended forever." (*2 Enoch* 18:7).

It is apparent that both passages about angelic rebellious groups in chapters 7 and 18 are interconnected by a series of allusions and familiar motifs intended to persuade the reader that both groups are interrelated and now are separated because of their previous deeds. Yet, *2 Enoch* 18:7 exhibits a clear contradiction when Enoch reports to the Watchers in the fifth heaven that God has sentenced their brothers "*under the earth.*"[724] Several scholars previously noticed this topological discrepancy about the exact location of the second group of Watchers.[725] Reflecting on the textual contradictions about the location of the imprisoned Watchers, one of these scholars, John Reeves, observes that

> *2 Enoch* is peculiar in that it places the prison for the incarcerated Watchers in heaven itself. This transcendent location contradicts the explicit

---

[724] Francis Andersen points to the fact that even though the phrase "under the earth" is not found in some manuscripts of the shorter recension (V and N) its "genuineness cannot be doubted." He further acknowledges that the phrase "simply does not fit the cosmography of the rest of the book, and even contradicts this very ch. [18], which locates the other fallen angels in the second heaven...." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 132.

[725] Rubinstein, "Observation," 7–10; Andersen, "2 Enoch," 114; Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha," 185; VanderKam, *Enoch*, 159.

> testimonies of other works where these rebellious Watchers are held; viz. beneath the earth (*1 Enoch* 10:4–7; 12–14; 88:3; *Jub.* 5:6, 10; 2 Pet 2:4). Moreover, a later passage in *2 Enoch* is simultaneously cognizant of this latter tradition: "And I said to the Watchers, I have seen your brothers, and I have heard what they did; ... and I prayed for them. And behold, the Lord has condemned them below the earth until the heavens and the earth pass away ..." The reference in this text is surely to the imprisoned Watchers that Enoch had previously encountered in the second heaven. But here, while touring the "fifth heaven," the imprisoned Watchers are spoken as being "beneath the earth"![726]

It is possible that the discrepancy pertaining to the location of the imprisoned angels can be explained by the topological peculiarities of the Slavonic apocalypse whose main theological emphasis is centered on the ascension of the translated hero into the heavenly realm. Yet, possibly cognizant of the various early traditions of the patriarch's tours into other (subterranean) realms, where Enoch observes the places of the punishment of the rebellious Watchers, the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse try to reconcile (not always seamlessly) these earlier traditions with their ouranological scheme.[727] In this respect the phrase "I saw a darkness greater than *earthly darkness*"[728] used in the description of the incarcerated angels in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 7:1, deserves some additional attention. It appears that this phrase strives to underline the otherworldly, possibly even subterranean, nature of the darkness encountered by the patriarch in the second heaven. Clearly the text wants to emphasize that it is a darkness of *another realm* by comparing it with "earthly darkness." Later, in verse 2 this comparison with the *earthly* darkness is repeated again, this time in the portrayal of the angels' appearance: "And those angels have the appearance of darkness itself, *more than earthly darkness*."[729]

---

[726] Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha," 185.

[727] Martha Himmelfarb suggests that "... in *2 Enoch* the ascent is clearly a reworking of the ascent in the *Book of the Watchers* in combination with the tour to the ends of the earth...." Himmelfarb, M. "Revelation and Rapture: The Transformation of the Visionary in the Ascent Apocalypses." In Collins, J. J., and J. H. Charlesworth, eds. *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium*, 82. JSPSS, 9. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991. Cf. also Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 221–3.

[728] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 112.

[729] Ibid.

Traces of the Adamic Template

Besides the references to the Enochic template, the passage from chapter 18 also reveals also the authors' familiarity with the Adamic mythology of evil and the peculiar details of its demonological settings. Moreover, it appears that the interaction between the two paradigmatic templates in *2 Enoch* can be seen not merely as an attempt at mechanical mixture of the elements of both trends but rather the progressive movement toward their organic union when the mutual interaction is able to generate a qualitatively different tradition which is not equal anymore to their initial parts. Thus one can see here the consistent effort to "fuse" two mythological streams into a new coherent ideology — an enormously difficult creative task carried out masterfully by the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse. One of the crucial signs of such qualitative transition can be seen in the literary destiny of the main protological and eschatological opponent of the Adamic tradition — Satan(ail),[730] who is now invited into the new unfamiliar entourage of the rival mythological trend, where he is being fashioned as the leader of the rebellious Watchers.

---

[730] Rendering of the name of the chief negative protagonist of the Adamic tradition here not as Satan but as Satan-ail (el), with a theophoric angelic ending, appears to underline his original angelic status. In this context the change of the name to Satan (Slav. *Сотона*) and removing the theophoric ending signifies the expelling from the angelic rank, a tradition hinted in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 31: "Adam — Mother; earthly and life. And I created a garden in Edem, in the east, so that he might keep the agreement and preserve the commandment. And I created for him an open heaven, so that he might look upon the angels, singing the triumphal song. And the light which is never darkened was perpetually in paradise. And the devil understood how I wished to create another world, so that everything could be subjected to Adam on the earth, to rule and reign over it. The devil is of the lowest places. And he will become a demon, because he fled from heaven; Sotona, because his name was Satanail. In this way he became different from the angels. His nature did not change, but his thought did, since his consciousness of righteous and sinful things changed. And he became aware of his condemnation and of the sin which he sinned previously. And that is why he thought up the scheme against Adam. In such a form he entered paradise, and corrupted Eve. But Adam he did not contact. But on account of her nescience I cursed him. But those whom I had blessed previously, them I did not curse; and those whom I had not blessed previously, even them I did not curse — neither mankind I cursed, nor the earth, nor any other creature, but only mankind's evil fruit-bearing. This is why the fruit of doing good is sweat and exertion." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 152–4.

> "These are the Grigori, who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together *with their prince* (*с князом своим*) Satanail...." (*2 Enoch* 18).

The fact that this identification represents not just an accidental slip of the pen or an interpolation, but a sign of the consistent and well-designed theological strategy of the text becomes evident if we compare the description found in chapter 18 with the Watchers tradition found in chapter 7. There again the group of the incarcerated Watchers is described by the authors as the rebellious group who turn away *with their prince*:

> These are those who turned away from the Lord, who did not obey the Lord's commandments, but of their own will plotted together and turned away *with their prince* (*с князем своим*)... (*2 Enoch* 7).

Both passages are interconnected through identical Slavonic terminology since the leader of the rebellious angels in both cases is designated as *a prince* (Slav. *князь*).[731] It appears that in the theological tapestry of the Slavonic apocalypse, chapter 7 plays an important role by serving for its readers as a sort of a preliminary initiation into a new mythology of evil — the demonological setting where both, the identities of the Watchers and their new leader Satanail are still concealed, thus anticipating their full conceptual disclosure in the later chapters.

But how really novel and original was this conceptual move for the Enochic trend? It should be noted that the leadership of Satan over the fallen Watchers is unknown in the earliest Enochic booklets. Yet, in the late Second Temple Enochic text, the *Book of the Similitudes*, one can see the extensive appropriation of the Satan terminology, both in the generic and in the titular sense.[732] One of the instances of the "generic" use of such terminology can be found in *1 Enoch* 40:7 where the term "satans" appears to designate one of the classes of angelic beings[733] whose function is to

---

[731] Соколов, "Материалы," 16.

[732] Robert Henry Charles underlines the peculiarity of the Satan terminology to this section of *1 Enoch*. Charles, R. H. *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 66. Oxford: Clarendon, 1912.

[733] Daniel Olson observes that "the author [of the *Similitudes*] could have deduced the existence of 'satans' as the class of malevolent angels from passages like Numbers 22, where the Angel of the Lord is twice described as coming, literally, 'as a satan' to block Balaam's progress (vv. 22, 32)." Olson, D. *Enoch: A New Translation*, 80. North Richland Hills: Bibal, 2004.

punish[734] or to put forward accusations against those who dwell on earth: "And the fourth voice I heard driving away the satans, and not allowing them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse those who dwell on the dry ground."[735]

The first possible steps towards the transitional template in which Satan becomes the leader of the fallen Watchers might be discernable in the *Similitudes* 54:4–6 where the "hosts of Azazel" are named as the "servants of Satan":[736]

> And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: "These chain-instruments — for whom are they being prepared? And he said to me: "These are being prepared for the hosts of Azazel, that they may take them and throw them into the lowest part of Hell; and they will cover their jaws with rough stones, as the Lord of Spirits commanded. And Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel — these will take hold of them on that great day, and throw them on that day into the furnace of burning fire, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance on them for their iniquity, in that they became servants of Satan and led astray those who dwell upon the dry ground.[737]

Scholars argued that the term "Satan" was used here not in the generic but in the "titular" sense.[738] If it is so this portentous conceptual development is relevant for our study of the Sataniel tradition found in the Slavonic apocalypse, since it might provide additional proof that the extensive adoption of Adamic mythology of evil in *2 Enoch* was not a later Christian

---

[734] Matthew Black argues that in this passage "the satans are a special class of angels" that "have been identified with the 'angels of punishment.'" Black, M. *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 200. SVTP, 7. Leiden: Brill, 1985.

[735] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 128. See also *1 Enoch* 41:9; 53:3; 65:6. The Satan tradition might also be indirectly present in *1 Enoch* 69:6, the passage which describes an angelic leader Gadre'el who is credited there with leading Eve astray. On this tradition see Olson, *Enoch*, 126; Coblentz Bautch, "Adamic traditions," 352–60.

[736] Matthew Black observes that "the idea that the watchers were the subjects of Satan is peculiar to the Parables, reflecting a later demonology...." Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 219.

[737] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.138.

[738] Daniel Olson notes that "... Satan the individual is mentioned once in the 'parables' (54:6), so it would appear that both the generic and the titular use are employed in this book, but caution is in order because 'satans' in Ethiopic can simply mean 'the hosts of Satan' and need not imply a wholly distinct category of evil spirits." Olson, *Enoch*, 80.

interpolation, but a genuine Enochic development possibly stemming from other late Second Temple Enochic booklets.

Yet, despite its promising nature, the origin of the Satan tradition found in the *Parables* remains clouded in mystery. It is really difficult to discern from this terse and enigmatic passage found in the *Similitudes* 54 if the authors of the book did really have the knowledge of the full-blown Adamic template, including the story of the angelic veneration, or if they were merely borrowing the titular usage of Satan from the biblical materials. Scholars previously noticed this peculiar tendency of the *Similitudes* for the extensive and open adaptations of some biblical titles in relation to Enoch — a novel development in comparison with the earliest Enochic booklets whose authors deliberately tried to maintain distance from the "biblical" books.[739] In the light of these developments it is possible that titular usage of the name "Satan" similar to many of Enoch's titles found in the *Similitudes* might have here biblical roots. Nevertheless, it remains intriguing that the extensive appropriation of Satan terminology is found in such a transitional Enochic booklet as the *Parables*, a text which similar to the Slavonic apocalypse, tries to dramatically enhance the exalted profile of the seventh antediluvian patriarch leading this character into the entirely new, one might say "divine," stage of his remarkable theological career by identifying him with the preexistent son of man.

Now it is time to return to the Slavonic apocalypse where the mutual interaction between two mythologies of evil appears to be exercising a lasting influence not only on the story of the Watchers but also on the account of the negative protagonist of the Adamic stream — Satan(ail) who is now acquiring some novel features from the Enochic tradition.

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 29 elaborates the story of Satanail's fall by enhancing it with some new intriguing details. It describes that af-

---

[739] The *Book of the Similitudes* endows the seventh antediluvian patriarch with several roles and titles previously unknown in the early Enochic lore, such as "righteous one," "anointed one," "chosen one," and "son of man." One cannot fail to recognize that in contrast to other designations of Enoch found in the early Enochic materials, the titles from the *Book of the Similitudes* exhibit strong roots and connections with the motifs and themes found in the Bible, particularly in the Book of Isaiah, Psalm 2, and the Book of Daniel. Scholars have therefore proposed that these titles might be shaped by familiar biblical characters, such as the Servant of the Lord found in Deutero-Isaiah and the Son of Man found in Daniel 7. On the titles of Enoch in the *Book of the Similitudes* and their biblical roots see VanderKam, "Righteous One," 169–70.

ter his transgression (described there as the violation of the ranks of the angelic hierarchy in an attempt to exalt himself) Satanail was cast out from heaven with his angels.[740] The text further unveils that after his demotion "he [Satanail] was flying around in the air, ceaselessly above the Bottomless (Slav. *бездна*)."[741] This reference to the Slavonic word *бездна*, (which more precisely can be translated as "pit" or "abyss") as the place of punishment of the fallen angel, invokes the memory of the Asael/Azazel story from *1 Enoch* 10 where the leader of the fallen angels is thrown by the angel Raphael into the subterranean pit.[742]

Here again one can see the profound dialogue between two formative traditions of the fallen angels that alters or enhances the features of the original templates, reshaping the stories of their infamous heroes.

III. THE TRANSITIONAL TEMPLATE AND ITS AFTERLIFE IN THE *SHIʿUR QOMAH* AND HEKHALOT ACCOUNTS

Our investigation of the mixed demonological template found in *2 Enoch* is important not only because it witnesses to the portentous dialogue be-

---

[740] *2 Enoch* 29:1–6: "And for all my own heavens I shaped a shape from the fiery substance. My eye looked at the solid and very hard rock. And from the flash of my eye I took the marvelous substance of lightning, both fire in water and water in fire; neither does this one extinguish that one, nor does that one dry out this one. That is why lightning is sharper and brighter than the shining of the sun, and softer than water, more solid than the hardest rock. And from the rock I cut off a great fire, and from the fire I created the ranks of the bodiless armies — the myriad angels — and their weapons are fiery and their clothes are burning flames. And I gave orders that each should stand in his own rank. Here Satanail was hurled from the height, together with his angels. But one from the order of the archangels deviated, together with the division that was under his authority. He thought up the impossible idea, that he might place his throne higher than the clouds which are above the earth, and that he might become equal to my power. And I hurled him out from the height, together with his angels. And he was flying around in the air, ceaselessly above the Bottomless. And thus I created the entire heavens. And the third day came." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 148.

[741] Соколов, "Материалы," 28.

[742] *1 Enoch* 10:4–6: "And further the Lord said to Raphael: 'Bind Azazel by his hands and his feet, and throw him in the darkness. And split open the desert which is in Dudael, and throw him there. And throw on him jagged and sharp stones, and cover him with darkness; and let him stay there for ever, and cover his face, that he may not see light, and that on the great day of judgment he may be hurled into the fire." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 87–8.

tween Enochic and Adamic mythologies of evil but also because it helps to illuminate another important theological transition taking place for the first time in the Slavonic apocalypse — that is the paradigm shift from the Jewish apocalypticism to early Jewish mysticism, thus in many ways anticipating future developments inside the Enochic lore and serving as a blueprint for the later Watchers traditions reflected in the *Sh'iur Qomah* and Hekhalot lore.[743]

In this respect it is therefore useful to discuss some early signs and facets of this ideological transition taking place at the end of the Second Temple period through the exploration of several pioneering aspects of the Watchers traditions found in *2 Enoch* and the afterlife of these novel developments in later Jewish mysticism.

I have previously argued about the formative value of Enochic traditions reflected in the Slavonic apocalypse for late Jewish mysticism and particularly for the Enochic developments attested in *Sefer Hekhalot.*[744] My previous research was mainly concentrated on Enoch's figure. Yet, in the light of the current investigation it becomes clear that the lessons which *2 Enoch* provides for the later Hekhalot developments appear to be not limited solely to the transformation of the narrative involving the chief positive protagonist of the Enochic tradition — the seventh antediluvian hero, but also involve the peculiar reworking of the story of its anti-heroes — the fallen Watchers. In this section of my study I would like to concentrate on two motifs found in *2 Enoch* that appear to be anticipating future Jewish mystical developments: the motif of the three watchers and the theme of the liturgical duties of Enoch-Metatron.

Three Watchers

This study has already drawn attention to the intriguing fact that the Slavonic apocalypse operates with the tradition of the descent of the three Watchers. Several manuscripts of *2 Enoch* 18 tell that "*three of them* [the Watchers] descended to the earth from the Lord's Throne onto the place Ermon." This passage invokes the memory of a peculiar tradition found in the later Enochic lore reflected in *Sefer Hekhalot* that mentions three ministering angels — Uzza, Azza, and Azael, enigmatic characters, whose names

---

[743] The similar development might be detected also in the *Book of the Similitudes*, an Enochic text already mentioned in this study which too exhibits some connections with the Merkabah tradition.

[744] Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 148–208.

are reminiscent of the infamous leaders of the Watchers — Shemihazah and Asael.[745] *Sefer Hekhalot* contains two textual units which deal with Uzza, Azza, and Azael. One of them is situated in chapter four and another in chapter five.

3 Enoch 4:1–10 reads:

> R. Ishmael said: I said to Metatron: "... why, then, do they call you 'Youth' in the heavenly heights?" He answered: "Because I am Enoch, the son of Jared..." ... "... the Holy One, blessed be he, appointed me (Enoch) in the height as a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels. Then three of the ministering angels, Uzza, Azza, and Azael, came and laid charges against me in the heavenly height. They said before the Holy One, blessed be He, "Lord of the Universe, did not the primeval ones give you good advice when they said, Do not create man! ... once they all arose and went to meet me and prostrated themselves before me, saying 'Happy are you, and happy your parents, because your Creator has favored you.' Because I am young in their company and a mere youth among them in days and months and years--therefore they call me 'Youth.'"[746]

As has already been noticed in this study this specimen of the late "Enochic" lore found in *Sefer Hekhalot* is significant for our investigation because it attests to the conceptual matrix of the mythology of evil very similar to the one found in the Slavonic apocalypse, where the Enochic trend attempts to emulate the paradigmatic features of the Adamic story. It is possible that the influence of the Adamic template in the Hekhalot passage is even more decisive than it might appear at first glance since besides the theme of the angelic veneration of the seer it also invokes the motifs of the protological situation of the creation of humanity and the angelic opposition to this act of the Deity. Although the tradition of the veneration of Adam is not mentioned directly in this unit — it is indirectly (similarly to the Slavonic apocalypse) reaffirmed by the veneration that angels offer to Enoch. As has been mentioned already in this study, previous scholars

---

[745] For the background of the tradition about Uzza, Azza, and Azael, see Reed, A. Y. *What the Fallen Angels Taught: The Reception-History of the Book of the Watchers in Judaism and Christianity*, 337ff. Ph. D. diss.; Princeton, 2002; idem, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature*, 252ff. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

[746] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 258–9.

have noticed the presence of the pseudepigraphical matrix of the Adamic tradition in this passage.[747]

In *Sefer Hekhalot* 5 the tradition about three "Watchers" takes another, this time clearly "Enochic" turn, by connecting Uzza, Azza, and Azael with the familiar theme of the corruption of humankind through a reference to the angels' illicit pedagogy, a motif known already in the earliest Enochic mythology of evil:

> What did the men of Enosh's generation do? They roamed the world from end to end .... They brought down the sun, the moon, the stars and the constellations .... How was it that they had the strength to bring them down? It was only because Uzza, Azza, and Azael taught them sorceries that they brought them down and employed them, for otherwise they would not have been able to bring them down.[748]

It is noteworthy that both passages about three fallen angels from *Sefer Hekhalot* have distinctive features of the mixed template, very similar to the one found in the Slavonic apocalypse. Both texts are trying to bring the whole array of the Adamic motifs, including the account of the angelic veneration, into the framework of the Watchers story. Although the transmission history of the post-Second Temple Enochic traditions is clouded in mystery — it is possible that the developments detected in the Slavonic apocalypse exercised a formative influence on the later Enochic lore, including *Sefer Hekhalot.* In this respect it is noteworthy that despite the tradition of the fallen angels' opposition to God's creation of humans found in several places in rabbinic literature,[749] the motif of the *three watchers* appears in Jewish milieus only in *Sefer Hekhalot.*[750]

Enoch as the Celestial Choirmaster of the Watchers

Another portentous aspect of the Watchers traditions found in *2 Enoch* that appears to exercise a long-lasting influence on later Jewish mystical developments is its liturgical dimension. The repeated and persuasive invocation

---

[747] Anderson, "The Exaltation," 107.

[748] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 260.

[749] *b.* Sanh. 38B, *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* 2, and *Zohar* III.207b–208a.

[750] The motif of the three Watchers is also found in several Tafsirs on the Qur'an. For the original texts, translations and extensive discussion of these traditions see Абдуллаева, Ф. И. *Персидская Кораническая экзегетика: Тексты, переводы, комментарии* [Abdullaeva, F. I. *The Persian Qur'anic Exegesis: Texts, Translations, Commentaries*]. St. Petersburg, 2000.

of the idea of angelic veneration in many ways hints (directly and indirectly) to this peculiar sacerdotal aspect, since this motif is often placed in the Second Temple and rabbinic materials in the context of celestial worship. In this respect one should not ignore the persistent liturgical concern that permeates the Watchers story in the Slavonic apocalypse.

Indeed, the authors of the Watchers narratives of *2 Enoch* do not shy away from expressing their interest in the theme of the heavenly liturgy. Thus, when Enoch sees the "dejected" Watchers in the fifth heaven, the passage immediately invokes the tradition of angelic worship by pointing to the Watchers' non-participation in the celestial liturgical praxis:

> And their faces were dejected, and the silence of their mouths was perpetual. And there was no liturgy in the fifth heaven. "What is the explanation that these ones are so very dejected, and their faces miserable, and their mouths silent? And (why) is *there no liturgy in this heaven*?"

The liturgical dimension of the Watchers tradition in *2 Enoch* is intriguing and deserves further investigation. Yet, in order to apprehend the full meaning of this tradition for the later Enochic developments a short excursus in the Hekhalot and *Shi'ur Qomah* materials is necessary.

The later Merkabah materials emphasize the crucial role that Enoch-Metatron occupies in celestial worship by serving as the leader of the angelic hosts.

3 Enoch 15B provides the following description of his spectacular liturgical office:

> Metatron is the Prince over all princes, and stands before him who is exalted above all gods. He goes beneath the throne of glory, where he has a great heavenly tabernacle of light, and brings out the deafening fire, and puts it in the ears of the holy creatures, so that they should not hear the sound of the utterance that issues from the mouth of the Almighty.[751]

A similar description in another Hekhalot text (*Synopse* § 390)[752] elaborates further Metatron's unique liturgical role:

> One *hayyah* rises above the seraphim and descends upon the tabernacle of the youth whose name is Metatron, and says in a great voice, a voice of sheer silence: "The Throne of Glory is shining." Suddenly the angels fall silent. The watchers and the holy ones become quiet. They are silent,

---

[751] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 303.

[752] MS New York JTS 8128.

> and are pushed into the river of fire. The *hayyot* put their faces on the ground, and this youth whose name is Metatron brings the fire of deafness and puts it into their ears so that they could not hear the sound of God's speech or the ineffable name. The youth whose name is Metatron then invokes, in seven voices, his living, pure, honored, awesome, holy, noble, strong, beloved, mighty, powerful name.[753]

These enigmatic passages reveal that one of Metatron's duties in the heavenly realm involves his leadership over the angelic hosts delivering heavenly praise to the Deity. The testimonies that unfold Metatron's liturgical role are not confined solely to the Hekhalot corpus, but can also be detected in another prominent literary expression of early Jewish mysticism represented by the *Shi'ur Qomah* materials. The passages found in the *Shi'ur Qomah* texts attest to a similar tradition in which Metatron is portrayed as a liturgical leader. Thus, *Sefer Haqqomah* 155–164 reads:

> And (the) angels who are with him come and encircle the Throne of Glory. They are on one side and the (celestial) creatures are on the other side, and the Shekhinah is on the Throne of Glory in the center. And one creature goes up over the seraphim and descends on the tabernacle of the lad whose name is Metatron and says in a great voice, a thin voice of silence, "The Throne of Glory is glistening!" Immediately, the angels fall silent and the *'irin* and the *qadushin* are still. They hurry and hasten into the river of fire. And the celestial creatures turn their faces towards the earth, and this lad whose name is Metatron, brings the fire of deafness and puts (it) in the ears of the celestial creatures so that they do not hear the sound of the speech of the Holy One, blessed be He, and the explicit name that the lad, whose name is Metatron, utters at that time in seven voices, in seventy voices, in living, pure, honored, holy, awesome, worthy, brave, strong, and holy name.[754]

In reference to these traditions Martin Cohen notes that in the *Shi'ur Qomah* tradition Metatron's service in the heavenly tabernacle appears to be "entirely liturgical" and "is more the heavenly choirmaster and beadle than the celestial high priest."[755]

It is evident that the tradition preserved in *Sefer Haqqomah* cannot be separated from the microforms found in *Synopse* § 390 and *3 Enoch* 15B since all these narratives are unified by a similar structure and terminology.

---

[753] Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhaloth-Literatur*, 164.

[754] Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions*, 162–4.

[755] Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy*, 134.

All of them also emphasize Metatron's leading role in the course of the celestial service.

It is possible that this tradition of Enoch-Metatron as the one who encourages and prepares angels for their liturgical praxis in heaven might have its early roots already in *2 Enoch*.

As we remember in the beginning of chapter 18 the patriarch is depicted as the one who laments about the absence of angelic liturgy in the fifth heaven and the silence of the Watchers. In the light of the Hekhalot and *Shi'ur Qomah* materials, his concern about the pause in the angelic liturgical routine appears to be not just a matter of curiosity. Further in the same unit Enoch encourages the celestial Watchers to start their liturgy before the face of God. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 18:8–9 relates:

> And I [Enoch] said, "Why are you waiting for your brothers? And why don't you *perform the liturgy*[756] before the face of the Lord? Start up *your liturgy*,[757] and perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord, so that you do not enrage your Lord to the limit." And they responded to my recommendation, and they stood in four regiments in this heaven. And behold, while I was standing with those men, 4 trumpets trumpeted in unison with a great sound, and the Watchers burst into singing in unison. And their voice rose in front of the face of the Lord, piteously and touchingly.[758]

One can notice that the imagery of this account represents a rather vague sketch that only distantly alludes to the future prominent liturgical role of Enoch-Metatron. Yet here, for the first time in the Enochic tradition, the seventh antediluvian patriarch dares to assemble and direct the angelic creatures for their routine job of delivering praise to the Deity.

It is also significant that, despite the fact that in *2 Enoch* 18 the patriarch gives his advice to the angels situated in the fifth heaven, he repeatedly advises them to start the liturgy "before the Face of the Lord," i.e., in front of the divine *Kavod*, the exact location where Youth-Metatron will later conduct the heavenly worship of the angelic hosts in the *Shi'ur Qomah* and Hekhalot accounts.

These later specimens of Jewish mystical lore provide an important interpretive framework that allow us to discern the traces of these later fully developed liturgical traditions already in *2 Enoch*. In this respect the

---

[756] Slav. *служите*. Соколов, "Материалы," 17.

[757] Slav. *службы ваше*. Ibid.

[758] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 132.

Slavonic apocalypse can be seen as the crucial conceptual nexus loaded with several portentous transitions that become instrumental in shaping the angelological template prominent in the later *Shi'ur Qomah* and Hekhalot lore.

In light of the developments discernable in *2 Enoch* it is possible that the unique liturgical role that Enoch-Metatron occupies in the Merkabah tradition in relation to the celestial creatures is linked to the tradition of his veneration by the angels. Already in the Slavonic apocalypse the celestial citizens recognize the authority and the leadership of the seventh antediluvian hero by bowing down before him. This peculiar ritual of recognition of the celestial leader appears not to be forgotten in the later mystical lore. In this respect it is striking that in the aforementioned liturgical passages from the *Shi'ur Qomah* and Hekhalot accounts various classes of angels, including the class named עירין (the Watchers), are depicted with "their faces towards the earth" while Enoch-Metatron puts fire in their ears. It cannot be excluded that one can have here the liturgical afterlife of the familiar motif of the angelic bowing before the translated hero. It is noteworthy that already in early Adamic lore that constitutes the background of the developments found in *2 Enoch* — the theme of the angelic veneration of Adam is placed in the larger framework of divine worship — where the Protoplast appears to be understood not as the ultimate object of veneration but rather as a representation or an icon of the Deity through whom angels are able to worship God.[759]

CONCLUSION

In conclusion of our study of the intriguing relationships between the Enochic and Adamic templates of the fallen angels in the Slavonic apocalypse we should again draw attention to the broader theological concerns and circumstances for such striking metamorphoses of two previously relatively independent trends. As has been already pointed out in our study, one possible reason why many Adamic themes, including the motif of the angelic veneration, were brought for the first time in *2 Enoch* into the framework of the Enochic developments, was the changing status of the main hero of the Enochic tradition. It appears that in the Slavonic apocalypse the story

---

[759] See Georgian *LAE* 14:1: "Then Michael came; he summoned all the troops of angels and told them, 'Bow down before the likeness and the image of the divinity.'" Latin *LAE* 14:1: "Having gone forth Michael called all the angels saying: 'Worship the image of the Lord God, just as the Lord God has commanded.'"

of the exalted protagonist of the Enochic lore seems to be stepping into the new era of its theological and anthropological development in which the patriarch undergoes a remarkable transition from an exemplar of the transformed angelomorphic humanity, as he appears in the early Enochic literature, to the new conceptual stage in which he is envisioned now as a specimen of the theomorphic humanity.

Scholars previously noted that many future roles of Enoch-Metatron as the lesser representation of the divine Name and the replica of the divine Body, the offices that clearly intend to exalt the translated hero above the angelic world — are already hinted in the Slavonic apocalypse. In this respect it appears to be not coincidental that the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse are repeatedly trying to emphasize the supra-angelic status of the translated patriarch and his unique position in relation to the Deity.[760] The motif of the angelic veneration, a development borrowed by the Enochic authors from the rival Adamic trend, seems to help further affirm this new status of the elevated patriarch securing his unique place above the angels.

In light of these significant anthropological transitions leading Jewish mediatorial lore into the new era of its evolution, a brief look at another portentous theological account of the divine humanity, also written in the first century CE, might provide additional illuminating insights. Narrating Jesus' temptation in the wilderness the Gospel of Matthew unveils the following tradition:

---

[760] Thus, in *2 Enoch* 24 God invites the seer to the place next to him, closer than that of Gabriel, in order to share with him the information that remains hidden even from the angels. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 24 puts even greater emphasis on the unique nature of this offer; in this recension God places the patriarch "to the left of himself, closer than Gabriel (Slav. *Ближе Гавриила*)." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 143; Соколов, "Материалы," 90 (Ms. B), 117 (Ms. U). Crispin Fletcher-Louis writes that the fact that in *2 Enoch* the seer is seated next to God "suggests some contact with the rabbinic Enoch/Metatron tradition." Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts*, 154. Michael Mach also suggests that this motif is closely connected with the Metatron imagery. He notes that "the exaltation to a rank higher than that of the angels as well as the seating at God's side have their parallels and considerable development in Enoch's/Metatron's transformation and enthronement as depicted in *3 Enoch*." Mach, M. "From Apocalypticism to Early Jewish Mysticism?" In Collins, J. J., ed. *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, vol. 1, 229–264 at 251. New York: Continuum, 1998. 3 vols.

> Again, the devil took him to a very high mountain, and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; and he said to him, "All these I will give you, if you will fall down (πεσὼν) and worship me." Then Jesus said to him, "Begone, Satan! for it is written, `You shall worship the Lord your God and him only shall you serve."' Then the devil left him, and behold, angels came and ministered (διηκόνουν) to him. (Matt 4:8–11. RSV).

It has been previously noticed that this passage where the Devil tempts Jesus by asking him to fall down (πεσὼν) and worship the demon appears to be alluding also to the Adamic account of the fall of Satan who once refused to venerate the Protoplast.[761] The ancient enemy of humankind appears to be trying to take revenge for his protological mishap involving the First Adam by asking now for the veneration and worship from the Last Adam — Christ. Yet, Jesus refuses to follow this demonic trap, and after he rejects Satan's proposal — the motif of angelic worship is then invoked again, this time directly and unambiguously in the text. Matt 4:11 tells its readers that after the temptation was over, angels came to worship Jesus.[762]

Here, similar to the possibly contemporaneous tradition found in the Slavonic apocalypse, the motif of angelic worship hints at the new divine status of a human character and helps to understand the anthropological paradigm shift which is leading the restored humankind back into the new, but once before lost, abode of its divine existence[763] — the dimension in which a long time ago humanity was exalted above the angels humbly venerated by them.

---

[761] On the Adamic background of the Temptation narrative in Matthew and Luke see Fitzmyer, J. A. *The Gospel According to Luke*, vol. 1, 512. AB, 28, 28A. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981. 2 vols.

[762] A significant number of scholars believe that Matthew reflects the original order of the threefold temptation story, and that Luke represents the inversion of this original order.

[763] Cf. Armenian *LAE* 14:1: "Then Michael summoned all the angels and God said to them, 'Come, bow down *to god* whom I made.'"

The Fallen Trees: Arboreal Metaphors and Polemics with the Divine Body Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*

Introduction

The first eight chapters of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, a Jewish pseudepigraphon preserved solely in its Slavonic translation, deal with the early years of the hero of the faith in the house of his father Terah. The main plot of this section of the text revolves around the family business of manufacturing idolatrous divine statues. Terah and his sons are portrayed as craftsmen carving religious figures out of wood, stone, gold, silver, brass and iron. The zeal with which the family pursues its idolatrous craft suggests that the text does not view the household of Terah as just another family workshop producing religious artifacts for sale. Although the sacerdotal status of Abraham's family remains clouded in rather obscure imagery, the Slavonic apocalypse's authors seem to envision them as cultic servants whose "house" serves as a metaphor for the sanctuary polluted by idolatrous worship. From the very first lines of the apocalypse the reader learns that Abraham as well as Terah are involved in sacrificial rituals in temples.[764]

The aggadic section of the text, which narrates Terah's and Abraham's interactions with the "statues," culminates in the destruction of the "house" along with its idols in a fire sent by God. It is possible that the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, which was written in the first centuries of the Common Era

---

[764] *Apoc. Ab.* 1:2–3 "... at the time when my lot came up, when I had finished the services of my father Terah's sacrifice to his gods of wood, stone, gold, silver, brass and iron, I, Abraham, having entered their temple for the service...." Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 9.

when Jewish communities were facing a wide array of challenges, including the loss of the Temple, was drawing here on the familiar metaphors derived from the Book of Ezekiel that construes idolatry as the main reason for the destruction of the terrestrial Sanctuary. Similar to the prophetic account, the hero of the Slavonic apocalypse is then allowed to behold the true place of worship — the heavenly shrine associated with the divine Throne. Yet despite the fact that the Book of Ezekiel significantly shapes the Abrahamic pseudepigraphon, there is a curious difference between the two visionary accounts. While in Ezekiel the false idolatrous statues of the perished temple are contrasted with the true form of the Deity enthroned on the divine Chariot, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* denies to its hero a vision of the anthropomorphic Glory of God. When in the second part of the apocalypse Abraham travels to the upper heaven to behold the Throne of God, which invokes memories of the classic Ezekielian description, he does not see any divine form on the Chariot. Scholars have previously noted that while preserving some features of Ezekiel's angelology, the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse appear to be carefully avoiding the anthropomorphic description of the divine *Kavod,* substituting it with a reference to the divine Voice.[765] The common interpretation is that the *Apocalypse of Abraham* deliberately seeks "to exclude all reference to the human figure mentioned in Ezekiel 1."[766]

In view of this polemical stance against the anthropomorphic understanding of God detected in the second part of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, it is possible that the first part of the pseudepigraphon imbued with imagery of the divine idolatrous figures might also contain polemics against the divine body traditions. This article will try to explore the possible anti-anthropomorphic tendencies of the first part of the Slavonic apocalypse.

---

[765] Such polemical development which attempts to confront the anthropomorphic understanding of the Deity with the alternative depictions of God through the imagery of the divine Voice or Name has its roots already in the biblical materials, particular in the Book of Deuteronomy and later deuteronomistic developments. On these traditions, see Grether, *Name und Wort Gottes*; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 191ff.; Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*, 124ff.; Wilson, *Out of the Midst of Fire*, 1–15; Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*, 51–123. On the formative role of the Deuteronomic tradition for the theophanic imagery of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, see Orlov, "Praxis of the Voice," 58–60.

[766] Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 87.

BAR-ESHATH

The introductory chapters of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* entertain their readers with elaborate mocking portrayals of the idols produced in the household of Terah. Often, the main purpose of these narrations is to demonstrate the limited supernatural prowess of the anthropomorphic figures whose spiritual impotence is then contrasted with the power of the incorporeal God. It is possible that in these mocking accounts of the idolatrous statues found in the first eight chapters of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the reader encounters one of the more vivid testimonies to the work's overall retraction of an anthropomorphic understanding of the Deity. Possibly mindful of the broader extra-biblical context of Abraham's biblical biography and his role as a fighter against the idolatrous practices of his father Terah, the work's authors seem to use the patriarch's story to advance their own anticorporeal agenda.

The limited scope of this investigation does not allow us to explore all of the depictions of the idolatrous figures found in the first part of the pseudepigraphon. This study will investigate only one polemical portrayal — the account involving the wooden idol Bar-Eshath (Slav. Варисать).[767] This mysterious idol first appears in chapter five, where Abraham is sent by his father to gather wooden chips left from manufacturing idols in order to make a fire and prepare a meal. In the pile of wooden splinters Abraham finds a small figurine whose forehead is decorated with the name Bar-Eshath.[768] Skeptical of idols, Abraham decides to challenge their supernatural power by placing Bar-Eshath near the fire and, with irony, ordering him to confine the flames.[769] The challenge leads to disastrous consequences for the wooden figurine, whom Abraham observes turn into a pile of dust after being enveloped and toppled over by fire.

The story of the fiery challenge of the wooden idol appears to fit nicely into the overall anti-anthropomorphic argument of the text. It polemically invokes the memory of Ezekiel 1 and Daniel 3, two pivotal biblical theophanic accounts associated with the promulgation of the divine body ideology where one encounters depictions of divine beings in the midst of fire. Although the purpose of these two biblical accounts is to underline the distinction between true and false representations of the De-

---

[767] On Bar-Eshath and the background of this name, see Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 63.

[768] Ibid., 12.

[769] Ibid., 12–3.

ity where the form's endurance against the element of fire testifies to its authenticity, in the Slavonic apocalypse the argument takes a different turn. There, it is not a fiery divine form but its incorporeal manifestation — the divine Voice appearing in the midst of fire[770] — that is contrasted with the anthropomorphic idolatrous figure that perishes in the flames. I have previously explored this aspect of Bar-Eshath's narrative, arguing that it represents a polemical variation with the divine body traditions.[771] In this study I will continue to probe the polemical features of the Bar-Eshath account by focusing on the symbolic dimension of his story reflected in chapter six of the Slavonic apocalypse. There, the story of the "fall" of the wooden idol is poetically retold again, this time in the mythological language reminiscent of depictions in the Book of Ezekiel and the Book of Daniel, two central biblical writings where the ideology of the divine body comes to its most emphatic, developed articulation.

THE BIBLICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TALE OF THE FALLEN TREE

The *Apocalypse of Abraham* 6:10–17 offers the following poetic tale about the origin and the final destiny of the wooden statue conveyed through primordial mythological imagery:

> ... But Bar-Eshath <, your god, before he was made has been rooted in the ground. Being great and wondrous (*великъ сы и дивен*), with branches, flowers and [various] beauties (*похвалами*). And you cut him with an ax, and by your skill the god was made. And behold, he has dried up, and his sap (*мукота его*) is gone. He fell from the heights to the ground, and he went from greatness to insignificance, and his appearance has faded.> [Now] he himself has been burned up by the fire, and he turned into ashes and is no more....[772]

This description of the wondrous tree found in the Slavonic apocalypse appears to draw on the biblical arboreal metaphors reflected in Ezek 31[773]

---

[770] On hypostatic voice of God, see Charlesworth, "The Jewish Roots of Christology," 19–41.

[771] See Orlov, "The Gods of My Father Terah," 33–53.

[772] Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 48; Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 14.

[773] Ezek 31:2–14 reads: "Mortal, say to Pharaoh king of Egypt and to his hordes: Whom are you like in your greatness? Consider Assyria, a cedar of Lebanon, with fair branches and forest shade, and of great height, its top among the clouds. The waters nourished it, the deep made it grow tall, making its rivers flow around the place it was planted, sending forth its streams to all the trees of the

and Dan 4.[774] It is no happenstance that the Slavonic apocalypse's authors bring into play these two theophanic accounts.[775] Several studies have pre-

---

field. So it towered high above all the trees of the field; its boughs grew large and its branches long, from abundant water in its shoots. All the birds of the air made their nests in its boughs; under its branches all the animals of the field gave birth to their young; and in its shade all great nations lived. It was beautiful in its greatness, in the length of its branches; for its roots went down to abundant water. The cedars in the garden of God could not rival it, nor the fir trees equal its boughs; the plane trees were as nothing compared with its branches; no tree in the garden of God was like it in beauty. I made it beautiful with its mass of branches, the envy of all the trees of Eden that were in the garden of God. Therefore thus says the Lord God: Because it towered high and set its top among the clouds, and its heart was proud of its height, I gave it into the hand of the prince of the nations; he has dealt with it as its wickedness deserves. I have cast it out. Foreigners from the most terrible of the nations have cut it down and left it. On the mountains and in all the valleys its branches have fallen, and its boughs lie broken in all the watercourses of the land; and all the peoples of the earth went away from its shade and left it. On its fallen trunk settle all the birds of the air, and among its boughs lodge all the wild animals. All this is in order that no trees by the waters may grow to lofty height or set their tops among the clouds, and that no trees that drink water may reach up to them in height. For all of them are handed over to death, to the world below; along with all mortals, with those who go down to the Pit." [NRSV].

[774] Dan 4:10–17 reads: "Upon my bed this is what I saw; there was a tree at the center of the earth, and its height was great. The tree grew great and strong, its top reached to heaven, and it was visible to the ends of the whole earth. Its foliage was beautiful, its fruit abundant, and it provided food for all. The animals of the field found shade under it, the birds of the air nested in its branches, and from it all living beings were fed. I continued looking, in the visions of my head as I lay in bed, and there was a holy watcher, coming down from heaven. He cried aloud and said: 'Cut down the tree and chop off its branches, strip off its foliage and scatter its fruit. Let the animals flee from beneath it and the birds from its branches. But leave its stump and roots in the ground, with a band of iron and bronze, in the tender grass of the field. Let him be bathed with the dew of heaven, and let his lot be with the animals of the field in the grass of the earth. Let his mind be changed from that of a human, and let the mind of an animal be given to him. And let seven times pass over him. The sentence is rendered by decree of the watchers, the decision is given by order of the holy ones, in order that all who live may know that the Most High is sovereign over the kingdom of mortals; he gives it to whom he will and sets over it the lowliest of human beings.'"[NRSV].

[775] Alexander Kulik (*Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 72) also points to the similarities with Isa 44:14–20: "He cuts down cedars or chooses a holm tree or an oak and lets it grow strong among the trees of the forest. He plants a cedar and

viously observed that these two biblical texts, permeated with corporeal ideology, exercise a formative influence on the theophanic and angelological imagery found in various parts of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. To better understand its appropriation in the Slavonic account we must now explore the ideological background of the arboreal portrayals in Ezekiel and Daniel.

As has been noted above, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* draws on a cluster of motifs from the Book of Ezekiel, while at the same time reshaping them by eliminating their anthropomorphic details.[776] The authors' peculiar use of the Ezekielian Chariot imagery in Abraham's vision of the upper heaven has been investigated in detail in previous studies.[777] Although the anthropomorphic thrust of Ezekiel understandably comes to its fore in the account of the vision of the divine Chariot where the seer beholds the human-like *Kavod*, other parts of the book also contain implicit and explicit reaffirmations of the corporeal ideology of the priestly tradition. It is noteworthy for our investigation that the corporeal ideology of both Ezekiel and the priestly source is shaped by the tenets of the Adamic tradition and its technical terminology.[778] One of the examples of these corporeal devel-

---

the rain nourishes it. Then it can be used as fuel. Part of it he takes and warms himself; he kindles a fire and bakes bread. Then he makes a god and worships it, makes it a carved image and bows down before it. Half of it he burns in the fire; over this half he roasts meat, eats it and is satisfied. He also warms himself and says, 'Ah, I am warm, I can feel the fire!' The rest of it he makes into a god, his idol, bows down to it and worships it; he prays to it and says, 'Save me, for you are my god!' They do not know, nor do they comprehend; for their eyes are shut, so that they cannot see, and their minds as well, so that they cannot understand. No one considers, nor is there knowledge or discernment to say, 'Half of it I burned in the fire; I also baked bread on its coals, I roasted meat and have eaten. Now shall I make the rest of it an abomination? Shall I fall down before a block of wood?' He feeds on ashes; a deluded mind has led him astray, and he cannot save himself or say, 'Is not this thing in my right hand a fraud?'" [NRSV].

[776] On the author's use of the Ezekielian traditions, see: Rubinkewicz, "Apocalypse of Abraham," 685.

[777] Rowland, "The Vision of God," 137–54; idem, *The Open Heaven*, 86–7.

[778] In recent years scholars have become increasingly aware of the formative value of the Adamic traditions in the shaping of the corporeal ideologies about the anthropomorphic body of the Deity. Already in the Book of Ezekiel the imagery of the human-like *Kavod* is connected with the protological developments reflected in the Genesis account where humanity is told to be created in the image of God.

opments involving Adamic imagery might be in Ezekiel 31 where one finds a portrayal of the wondrous tree first flourishing in the Garden of God and then doomed by the Deity and destroyed by the foreigners.

As any profound religious symbol, this arboreal metaphor can be understood in a number of ways. This passage was often interpreted as a reference to the destruction of nations or their arrogant rulers. There is, however, another, more personalist reading of the story focusing on the memory of Adam's story. The peculiar reference to the location of the wondrous tree in the Garden of Eden (עדן) and its expulsion from this distinguished *topos* exhibits parallels with the story of the Protoplast who once also enjoyed an exalted status in the Garden but was then expelled by the Deity from his heavenly abode. Like the mysterious trees in the Ezekielian and Danielic accounts, the Protoplast too once possessed a gigantic and wondrous statue. Several passages found in Philo and some pseudepigraphical accounts, including the tradition that appears in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* 23:4–6, describe the Protoplast's body as great in height, terrible in breadth and incomparable in aspect.[779] This great body of the first human was also said to be luminous in nature and clothed with what was often described in Jewish traditions as the "garment of glory."[780]

---

[779] Several early Jewish sources attest to the lore about the enormous body of Adam which the protoplast possessed before his transgression in Eden. Thus, Philo in *QG* 1.32 mentions a tradition according to which the first humans received at their creation bodies of vast size reaching a gigantic height: "... [the first humans] ... were provided with a very great body and the magnitude of a giant...." Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, 19. Moreover, in some pseudepigraphic accounts the body of the protoplast is portrayed, not simply as gigantic, but even as comparable with the dimensions of the divine corporeality. Thus, in several pseudepigraphic materials depictions of Adam's statue are often linked to the imagery of the enthroned divine anthropomorphic extent known from the priestly and Ezekelian sources as God's *Kavod*. The pseudepigraphical and rabbinic sources also refer to the luminosity of the original body of the Protoplast which like the divine Body was emitting light.

[780] Thus, the Tarqums attest to the prelapsarian luminosity of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. The Biblical background for such traditions includes the passage from Gen 3:21, where "the Lord God made for Adam and his wife garments of skin and clothed them." The Targumic traditions, both Palestinian and Babylonian, read "garments of glory" instead of "garments of skin." For example, in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on Gen 3:21 the following tradition can be found: "And the Lord God made garments of glory for Adam and for his wife from the skin which the serpent had cast off (to be worn) on the skin of their (garments

Yet according to the Adamic traditions, the original condition of the Protoplast's body dramatically changed after the Fall when he lost his great beauty, statue, and luminosity. In view of these parallels to the Adamic developments, it has been previously proposed that in Ezek 31 and Daniel 4 one might have the symbolic rendering of the Protoplast story, where the metaphor of the fallen tree forewarns of the demise of the original condition of humanity.[781]

The memory of the Protoplast story as a metaphor for the Fall of the exalted, "divine humanity" has paramount significance in the conceptual framework of the corporeal ideologies found in the Book of Ezekiel and the Book of Daniel. Previous studies have noted that the divine body traditions often juxtapose dialectically the exaltation and demotion of the mediatorial figures to the end of both promoting and delimiting the divinization of humanity.[782] The demise of the wondrous trees thus appears to

---

of) fingernails of which they had been stripped, and he clothed them." *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, 29. Targum Neofiti on Gen 3:21 unveils the similar tradition: "And the Lord God made for Adam and for his wife *garments of glory*, for the skin of their flesh, and he clothed them." *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis*, 62–3; Díez Macho, A. *Neophiti 1: Targum Palestinense MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana*, vol. 1, 19. Seminario Filológico Cardenal Cisneros del Instituto Arias Montano. Textos y estudios, 7–11, 20. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1968–79. 6 vols. The Fragmentary Targum on Gen 3:21 also uses the imagery of glorious garments: "And He made: And the memra of the Lord God created for Adam and his wife *precious garments* [for] the skin of their flesh, and He clothed them." Klein, *The Fragment-Targums*, vol. 1, 46, and vol. 2, 7. Targum Onqelos on Gen 3:21 reads: "And the Lord God made for Adam and his wife *garments of honor for the skin of their flesh*, and He clothed them." *The Targum Onqelos to Genesis*, 46. Tr. by B. Grossfeld. The Aramaic Bible, 6. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1988; Sperber, A., ed. *The Bible in Aramaic Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*, vol. 1, 5. Leiden: Brill, 1959. 4 vols.

[781] See, for example, Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 101–3; Bunta, S. N. "The Mēsu-Tree and the Animal Inside: Theomorphism and Theriomorphism in Daniel 4." In Lourié, B., and A. Orlov, eds. *The Theophaneia School: Jewish Roots of Eastern Christian Mysticism*, 364–84. Scrinium, 3. St. Petersburg: Byzantinorossica, 2007.

[782] Arbel, D. "'Seal of Resemblance, Full of Wisdom, and Perfect in Beauty': The Enoch/Metatron Narrative of *3 Enoch* and Ezekiel 28." *HTR* 98 (2005): 121–42.

fit well into this dialectical interplay of reaffirmations and deconstructions of various corporeal ideologies.[783]

These conceptual developments involving the symbolism of the wondrous trees in Ezek 31 and Dan 4 bring us back to the arboreal imagery in chapter six of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. In the already mentioned passage *Apoc. Ab.* 6:10–11 the authors seem to invoke cautiously the memory of the aforementioned biblical accounts when Bar-Eshath is compared with the wondrous tree. All three accounts emphasize the beauty of the protological tree. In all three stories the tree faces eventual demise in the imagery of a fall from heights to the ground.[784]

---

[783] Another example of such dialectical interplay of reaffirmation and demotion can be found in Ezek 28:1–19 where one can find the symbolic depiction of judgment against the prince of Tyre. This account also appears to be informed by the Adamic traditions. As will be shown later, Ezek 28 also contributes to the background for the imagery found in the *Apoc. Ab.* since in both texts the idolatrous statues are destroyed by fire.

[784] The concept of the cosmic tree as the building material for the divine figure found in the arboreal hymn of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* appears to be reminiscent not only of the descriptions in Ezek 31 and Dan 4 but also some Mesopotamian traditions about the cosmic tree also known there as the Mēsu-Tree. In this respect scholars have previously noted that the tradition about the wondrous tree reflected in Ezekiel 31 seems to draw on the Mesopotamian traditions about the Mēsu-Tree, a cosmic plant envisioned there as the building material for the divine statues. The traditions about the mythological tree are documented in several sources, including the *Book of Erra*, a Mesopotamian work dated between the eleventh and the eighth century B.C.E. The *Book of Erra* 1:150–156 reads:

"Where is the mēsu tree, the flesh of the gods, the ornament
of the king of the uni[verse]?
That pure tree, that august youngster suited to supremacy,
Whose roots reached as deep down as the bottom of the underwor[ld]:
a hundred double hours through the vast sea waters;
Whose top reached as high as the sky of [Anum]?
Where is the glittering *zaginduru* stone which I make choose ....
Where is Nildu, the great woodcarver of my godhead,
Who carries the golden axe, who knows his own ...."
(Cagni, L. *The Poem of Erra*, 32. SANE, 1/3. Malibu: Undena, 1977).

This passage vividly demonstrates that the Mesopotamian "matrix" of the traditions about the gigantic cosmic tree as the building material for the divine statues is still reflected not only in Ezekiel, but also in the Slavonic apocalypse where the "flesh" of the cosmic tree serves as the building material for the idolatrous statue of Bar-Eshath. It is striking that the account of the cosmic Tree from *Apoc. Ab.*

In highlighting similarities between biblical and pseudepigraphic accounts of the great tree, it is also important to note the distinctive purposes that arboreal imagery serves in Ezekiel and Daniel on the one hand and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* on the other. While the imagery of the fallen tree in Ezekiel and Daniel is employed to advance the ideology of divine corporeality, in the Slavonic apocalypse it is unambiguously set against traditions of divine corporeality. One peculiar detail illuminates the ideological difference. In the biblical stories the symbolic arboreal statue of exalted humanity is diminished by the will of the Creator[785] and both of the biblical trees are cut by celestial beings — in Ezekiel by God and in Daniel by the heavenly envoy. In contrast, in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* the tree is cut down not by the Deity but by Abraham's idolatrous father Terah who throughout the narrative is portrayed as a "creator" of his idols in a manner ironically reminiscent of God's role[786] in the biblical account of creation.[787] In *Apoc. Ab.* 4:3 Abraham tells Terah that he is a god to his idols since he made them. Here again, like the accounts found in Ezekiel and Daniel, the subtle presence of Adamic motifs can be discerned. Yet, unlike the prophetic books where the Adamic currents reaffirm the possibility of the human-like body of the Deity who fashions his beloved creature in his own image, in the Slavonic apocalypse these currents work against such a possibility.

THE DEMOTED CHERUB

The arboreal hymn of the demise of Bar-Eshath in *Apoc. Ab.* 6:10–17 that defines him as a god brings us to another important passage — Ezek 28:1–19 — which contains two oracles about an enigmatic celestial figure, an anointed Cherub (כרוב ממשח), whom the text defines as the prince

---

and the passage in the *Book of Erra* share several similar features including the motif of a craftsman carving the wooden statues of a godhead with his axe. On the Mesopotamian traditions about the Mēsu-Tree and their connection with Ezek 31 and Dan 4, see Bunta, "The Mēsu-Tree," 364–84.

[785] The motif of the Deity demoting or diminishing the original gigantic statue of the Protoplast as a dialectical device of re-affirmation is widespread in the pseudepigraphical and rabbinic materials connected with the divine body traditions. Cf. Fossum, "The Adorable Adam," 529–30.

[786] In *Apoc. Ab.* 4:3 Abraham compares Terah with the Creator telling him that he is a god to his idols since he made them.

[787] Thus, for example, *Apoc. Ab.* 6:2 tells about Terah's "creation" of the *bodies* of the idols.

of Tyre and who, like Bar-Eshath, appears to be envisioned as a demoted idol.[788]

It is noteworthy that, like the wooden idol, the main character of this Ezekelian passage is also repeatedly described in ironic fashion as a god. Further it is intriguing that both the hymn from the Slavonic apocalypse and the account from Ezek 28 describe their "idols" as wondrous creatures decorated with "beauties." Although the Slavonic text does not elaborate on

---

[788] Ezek 28:1–19 reads: "The word of the Lord came to me: "Son of man, say to the prince of Tyre, Thus says the Lord God: Because your heart is proud, and you have said, `I am a god, I sit in the seat of the gods, in the heart of the seas,' yet you are but a man, and no god, though you consider yourself as wise as a god — you are indeed wiser than Daniel; no secret is hidden from you; by your wisdom and your understanding you have gotten wealth for yourself, and have gathered gold and silver into your treasuries; by your great wisdom in trade you have increased your wealth, and your heart has become proud in your wealth — therefore thus says the Lord God: 'Because you consider yourself as wise as a god, therefore, behold, I will bring strangers upon you, the most terrible of the nations; and they shall draw their swords against the beauty of your wisdom and defile your splendor. They shall thrust you down into the Pit, and you shall die the death of the slain in the heart of the seas. Will you still say, `I am a god,' in the presence of those who slay you, though you are but a man, and no god, in the hands of those who wound you? You shall die the death of the uncircumcised by the hand of foreigners; for I have spoken, says the Lord God. Moreover the word of the Lord came to me: Son of man, raise a lamentation over the king of Tyre, and say to him, Thus says the Lord God: 'You were the signet of perfection, full of wisdom and perfect in beauty. You were in Eden, the garden of God; every precious stone was your covering, carnelian, topaz, and jasper, chrysolite, beryl, and onyx, sapphire, carbuncle, and emerald; and wrought in gold were your settings and your engravings. On the day that you were created they were prepared. With an anointed guardian cherub I placed you; you were on the holy mountain of God; in the midst of the stones of fire you walked. You were blameless in your ways from the day you were created, till iniquity was found in you. In the abundance of your trade you were filled with violence, and you sinned; so I cast you as a profane thing from the mountain of God, and the guardian cherub drove you out from the midst of the stones of fire. Your heart was proud because of your beauty; you corrupted your wisdom for the sake of your splendor. I cast you to the ground; I exposed you before kings, to feast their eyes on you. By the multitude of your iniquities, in the unrighteousness of your trade you profaned your sanctuaries; so I brought forth fire from the midst of you; it consumed you, and I turned you to ashes upon the earth in the sight of all who saw you. All who know you among the peoples are appalled at you; you have come to a dreadful end and shall be no more for ever.'"

the nature of Bar-Eshath's "beauties" (Slav. *похвалы*),[789] the passage from Ezekiel describes the Cherub as "the model of perfection" (חותם תכנית), "perfect in beauty" (וכלי יפי), and decorated with precious stones. It appears that in both accounts references to the characters' "beauties" serve to indicate their exalted status.[790] Scholars have previously observed that the attribution of the "beauties" invokes the memory of another important "representation" of the Deity — the supreme angel Metatron — who according to the *Sefer Hekhalot* was also "enhanced" with various "beauties" in the form of precious stones.[791] In this context the reference to the protagonist of the Merkabah tradition does not seem out of place, given that he himself might also be viewed as a conceptual nexus reflecting both the dynamics of exaltation and demotion of humanity. In this capacity he could be envisioned as a sort of "idol" who serves as a stumbling block for the infamous visionary of the Talmud, Elisha b. Abuyah, who according to *b.* Hag. 15a takes Metatron as the second deity in heaven that leads him to the heretical conclusion about two "powers" in heaven. The passage from the *Hagigah* then depicts the demotion of the dangerous "idol": the supreme angel is publicly punished in front of celestial hosts with sixty fiery lashes in order to prevent future confusions between the Deity and his angelic replica.

Returning to the similarities between the stories of the anointed Cherub and Bar-Eshath, it should be noted that both of them seem to contain traces of corporeal ideologies in their symbolic rendering of the Adamic story of the exaltation and fall of the Protoplast.[792] Thus in Ezekiel the

---

[789] This Slavonic word can be literally translated as "praises." For the discussion of the translation of Slavonic "похвала" as "beauty," see Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 73, n. 6.

[790] Thus, Daphna Arbel observes that "the bejeweled garb covered with precious stones that adorns the primal figure further highlights his state of exaltation." Arbel, "'Seal of Resemblance, Full of Wisdom, and Perfect in Beauty,'" 131.

[791] Arbel, "'Seal of Resemblance,'" 131.

[792] On the Adamic background of Ezek 28 see Barr, J. "'Thou art the Cherub': Ezekiel 28.14 and the Postexilic Understanding of Genesis 2–3." In Ulrich, E., J. W. Wright, R. P. Caroll, and P. R. Davies, eds. *Priests, Prophets and Scribes. Essays on the Formation and Heritage of Second Temple Judaism in Honour of Joseph Blenkinsopp*, 213–23. JSOTSup, 149; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992; Habel, N. C. "Ezekiel 28 and the Fall of the First Man." *Concordia Theological Monthly* 38 (1967): 516–24; Jeppesen, K. "You are a Cherub, but no God!" *SJOT* 1 (1991): 83–94; Launderville, D., O.S.B. "Ezekiel's Cherub: A Promising Symbol or a Dangerous Idol?" *CBQ* 65 (2004): 165–83; Loretz, O. "Der Sturz des Fürsten von Tyrus (Ez

Cherub, similar to Bar-Eshath, falls from "the heights to the ground" being cast out as a profane thing from the mountain of God.

It is noteworthy that both texts, like the Protoplast traditions, appear to envision the process of demotion as the loss of the original condition of the characters. Ezek 28 hints that the Cherub was originally installed like the divine *Kavod* on the holy mountain in the midst of fire: "you were on the holy mountain of God; in the midst of *the stones of fire* (אבני אש) you walked." The story continues with the exalted figure expelled from the exalted *topos* by its guardians: "I cast you as a profane thing from the mountain of God (מהר אלהים), and the guardian cherub drove you out from the midst of the stones of fire." According to the text, when the cherub was expelled from his original lofty abode he was "cast to the ground" and "exposed" before the spectators' gaze. In light of the possible Adamic background for the Ezekielian oracles, demotion to the lower realm and exposure to the gazing public can be understood as references to the loss of the original luminous garment of the Protoplast after the Fall. A similar tradition about the loss of the shining attire of the Protoplast seems present in the Slavonic apocalypse that describes the "fall" of Bar-Eshath as the "fading" of his primordial condition. *Apoc. Ab.* 6:14–15 reads: "He fell from heights to the ground, and he went from greatness to insignificance, and his appearance has faded...."[793]

It is also intriguing that in both stories the characters share the same final destiny as their "bodies" turn into ashes by fire. As has been previously noted, in Ezekiel the demoted Cherub is clearly envisioned as an idolatrous statue destroyed by fire. Further it is pointed out that the "cremation of the king of Tyre resembles the burning of a statue and the scattering of its ashes on the ground or in the underworld. If the king of Tyre is identified as a cherub, represented as a statue, and punished for claiming to be a god, then the burning of this statue can be seen as the rite of disposal of the impurity of idolatry."[794]

28,1–19)." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8 (1976): 455–8; May, H. G. "The King in the Garden of Eden: A Study of Ezekiel 28:12–19." In Anderson, B., and W. Harrelson, eds. *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg*, 166–76. New York, 1962; Miller, J. E. "The Maelaek of Tyre (Ezekiel 28, 11–19)." *ZAW* 105 (1994): 497–501; Williams, A. J. "The Mythological Background of Ezekiel 28:12–19?" *BTB* 6 (1976): 49–61; Yaron, K. "The Dirge over the King of Tyre," *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 3 (1964): 28–57.

[793] Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 14.

[794] Launderville, "Ezekiel's Cherub," 173–4.

The divine body traditions, and especially their peculiar usage of the fire test in the adjudication between true and false representations of the Deity, appear to be present both in *Apoc. Ab.* and in the Ezekielian oracles since the anointed Cherub is first depicted as passing the fiery test ("in the midst of the stones of fire you walked") and then failing it ("I brought forth fire from the midst of you; it consumed you, and I turned you to ashes").

THE DIVINE FACE

There is no doubt that the symbolism of various Adamic currents permeates the story of Bar-Eshath. In this respect it is especially interesting to examine the aforementioned passage from *Apoc. Ab.* 6 where one finds some peculiar details accompanying the "fall" of the wooden idol. The text says that Bar-Eshath fell from the heights to the ground and that his condition was changed *from greatness to smallness* (отъ великиства пріиде в малость).[795] Although in the course of narration the wooden statue literally fell to the ground, it appears that the reference to the idol's fall has an additional symbolic dimension. The account of the infamous idol's "fall" again appears to be reminiscent of the story of the Protoplast. The "Adamic" aspect of the terminology in *Apoc. Ab.* 6:15 can be further clarified if the vocabulary of this passage is compared with the terminology found in another central pseudepigraphical account that survived in the Slavonic language, the *2 (Slavonic) Apocalypse of Enoch*. There two conditions of Adam's corporeality — one original before the Fall and the other fallen after the transgression — are also conveyed through the terminology of greatness and smallness.

In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 30:10 the Lord reveals to the seventh antediluvian hero the mystery of the two conditions or "natures" of Adam, one original and the other fallen. It is striking that these conditions are rendered in the text through the familiar formulae of "greatness and smallness":

> ... From visible and invisible substances I created man.
> From both his natures come both death and life.
> And (as my) image he knows the word like (no) other creature.
> But even at his greatest he is small,
> and again at his smallest he is great.[796]

---

[795] Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 116.

[796] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 152.

Both recensions of the Slavonic text further invoke this terminology in *2 Enoch* 44:1: "the Lord with his own two hands created mankind; in a facsimile of *his own face*, both small and great (мала и велика),[797] the Lord created [them]."[798]

It is intriguing that both the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and *2 Enoch* use in their description of Bar-Eshath and Adam identical Slavonic terminology which unambiguously points to the Adamic "flavor" of the story of the wooden idol. The description of the fall of Bar-Eshath as the transition "from greatness to smallness" in *Apoc. Ab.* 6:14 further reinforces this connection with Adamic developments, given that it recalls the tradition about the diminution of the Protoplast's statue after his transgression in Eden in *2 Enoch*.[799]

Apoc. Ab. 6:15 depicts Bar-Eshath as the one whose "face" (Slav. лицо) has faded: "He fell from the heights to the ground, and he went from greatness to insignificance, and *the appearance of his face* (взор лица его)[800] has faded."[801] The notion of Bar-Eshath's fading face is striking in that it again invokes conceptual developments found in *2 Enoch*, which widely operates with the imagery of divine and human "faces" and views "*panim*" not simply as a part of human or divine bodies but as a reference to their entire corporealities. The "fading of the face" in this context seems related to the adverse fate of the original body of the first human(s) which literally "faded" when their luminosity was lost as a result of the transgression in Eden. These terminological affinities demonstrate that the authors of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* were well cognizant of the divine Face terminology and its prominent role in the divine body traditions.

CONCLUSION

At the conclusion of this study it should be noted that an investigation of Bar-Eshath's story can help clarify not only the broader ideological context of the anti-corporeal polemical currents found in the Slavonic apocalypse but also the textual issues pertaining to the provisional status of the passage with the arboreal tale. Since the passage containing the

---

[797] Соколов, "Материалы," 44, 96.

[798] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 170.

[799] Cf. *2 Enoch* 30:10.

[800] Kulik traces this Slavonic expression to the Hebrew expression דמות פניו. See Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 14, n. 30; 72–73.

[801] Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave*, 116; Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 48.

tale is absent from one of the important manuscripts of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the so-called the Silvester Codex, it has often been considered as a later interpolation[802] and scholars have been reluctant to attribute the arboreal tale to the original core of the apocalypse.[803] In this context the establishment of a relationship between the passage and the broader theological framework of the Slavonic apocalypse is important. Our study demonstrates that the passage is consistent with the original theological argument of the work. The research therefore offers additional, this time theological, evidence that the story of the demoted tree does not seem to be an interpolation but may belong to the original core of the text, sharing with it common anti-anthropomorphic polemics consonant with its overall ideological agenda.

---

[802] For example, G. H. Box and J. L. Landsman consider it as "a later interpolation." Box and Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, 41, n. 5.

[803] For example, B. Philonenko-Sayar and M. Philonenko include the passage with the arboreal tale only in the footnotes of their critical edition of the text. Cf. Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, 48.

Index of Modern Authors

Aaron, D. H., 98
Abdullaeva, F. I., 262
Aberbach, M., 75
Abrahams, I., 178
Abrams, D., 56, 177, 194
Alexander, P., 25, 26, 37, 38, 40, 41, 46, 60, 74, 87, 89, 96, 126, 132, 135, 137, 138, 144, 148, 151, 177, 179, 189, 190, 192, 194, 198, 200, 201, 202, 227, 240, 261, 262, 263
Altmann, A., 42, 149, 178, 247
Andersen, F. I., 13, 14, 15, 22, 29, 34, 35, 36, 40, 45, 46, 51, 52, 54, 57, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 71, 73, 78, 81, 86, 91, 96, 104, 115, 116, 118, 123, 125, 126, 129, 132, 133, 134, 147, 149, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 242, 243, 248, 250, 251, 253, 254, 255, 259, 265, 267, 282, 283
Anderson, G. A., 28, 31, 149, 247, 262, 281
Arbel, D., 276, 280
Argall, R. A., 31
Avanesov, R. I., 205
Balentine, S., 67
Barc, B., 42, 149, 247
Barr, J., 93, 280
Behm, J., 99, 106
Berger, K., 112
Bergren, T. A., 25
Berthelot, M. E., 31
Bertold, H., 97
Bietenhard, H., 177
Black, M., 99, 177, 257
Blumenthal, D., 96
Boccaccini, G., 137, 187, 239
Bonwetsch, N., 68, 158
Botterweck, G. J., xx
Böttrich, C., 149, 238
Botvinnik, N. M., 157
Bow, B. A., 31
Box, G. H., 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 208, 214, 284
Bratke, E., 68
Brock, S., 98, 100
Bromiley, G. W., xx
Brooks, G., xviii
Bunta, S. N., 120, 224, 225, 276, 278
Burchard, C., 88
Cancik, H., 27
Caroll, R. P., 280
Cejtlin, R. M., 85
Charles, R. H., 112, 243, 245, 248, 250, 251, 256
Charlesworth, J. H., xx, 16, 71, 79, 160, 254, 272
Chazon, E., 24
Chernus, I., 96
Chipman, J., 178
Clark, E. A., 100
Coblentz Bautch, K., 239, 257
Cohen, M., 21, 22, 26, 35, 94, 96, 177, 181, 189, 193, 264
Collins, J. J., 30, 63, 120, 156, 160, 174, 198, 208, 217, 254, 267
Daly, R. J., 100

Dan, J., 177, 178
Danby, H., 142
Davies, P. R., 280
Davila, J. R., 68, 88, 177, 178, 180, 181, 189, 193
Dean-Otting, M., 155
De Conick, A. D., 44, 67, 72, 85, 86, 88, 94, 98, 151
De Jonge, H. J., 120
Denis, A.-M., 137
De Roo, J., 209
Desprez, V., 97
Deutsch, N., 192
Díez Macho, A., 75, 84, 276
Dimant, D., 112
Donaldson, J., 106
Dörries, H., 97, 98, 103, 106, 107, 108
Dupont-Sommer, A., 158
Ego, B., 183
Eichrodt, W., 68, 93
Elior, R., 183, 191, 192, 234
Enrieetti, M., 158
Evans, C. A., xvii, 127
Fauth, W., 178
Feinberg, E. L., 209
Fenton, R. B., 183
Festugière, A. J., 31
Fishbane, M., 68, 93, 198
Fitzmyer, J. A., 268
Fletcher-Louis, C. H. T., 79, 81, 114, 123, 124, 142, 144, 145, 178, 267, 276
Flint, P. W., 137
Flusser, D., 93, 155
Fossum, J., 27, 41, 42, 75, 77, 79, 98, 99, 114, 124, 145, 146, 149, 167, 203, 204, 207, 224, 247, 278
Franko, I., 68, 69, 71, 74, 85, 157
Freedman, H., 32, 39
Friedländer, G., 33, 131
Friedrich, G., xx
García Martínez, F., 124, 246
Gaster, M., 33, 120, 158
Gieschen, C. A., 85, 87, 204, 270
Ginzberg, L., 98, 191, 224
Goetschel, R., 183
Golitzin, A., xvii, 4, 97
Gordon, C., 189
Goshen Gottstein, A., 98, 101, 104
Gould, G., 100
Grabbe, L. L., 209
Green, D., xx
Greenfield, J., 82, 96
Grether, O., 204, 270
Groezinger, K. E., 178
Grossfeld, R., 75, 276
Gruenwald, I., 22, 34, 93, 96, 120, 155, 178, 198, 217
Gutman, Y., 120, 138
Habel, N. C., 280
Halperin, D. J., 88, 96, 151, 157, 164, 169, 170, 171, 178, 182, 184, 189, 190, 198
Hannah, D. D., 88
Haran, M., 94
Harrelson, W., 281
Hempel, J., 93, 137
Hengel, M., 27, 178, 200
Hennessey, L., 100
Himmelfarb, M., 178, 182, 183, 184, 195, 198, 201, 254
Holladay, C. R., 120, 121, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 145
Hurtado, L., 120
Idel, M., 25, 39, 40, 42, 49, 56, 57, 59, 96, 112, 132, 178, 240
Jacimirskij, A. I., 68, 157
Jacobs, L., 96
Jacobson, H., 120, 121, 123, 125, 137, 138, 139, 141, 142, 150
Jagic, V., 157
James, M. R., 68
Janowitz, N., 97
Janowski, B., 209
Jastrow, M., 36

Jellinek, A., 104
Jeppesen, K., 280
Jurgens, B., 209
Kahana, A., 22, 42
Kaplan, C., 178
Kim, T. H., 137
Kittel, G., xx, 99
Klein, M. L., 76, 84, 113, 276
Klostermann, E., 97
Knibb, M. A., 58, 72, 79, 80, 81, 82, 114, 118, 139, 140, 143, 145, 148, 183, 185, 186, 188, 211, 244, 251, 252, 257, 259
Köhler, L., 9, 161
Korpel, M. C. A., 93
Kroeger, M., 97
Kugel, J., 68, 69
Kuiper, K., 120
Kulik, A., 16, 17, 155, 157, 158, 159, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212, 213, 221, 222, 224, 225, 228, 230, 231, 233, 269, 271, 272, 273, 280, 281, 283
Kurfess, A.-M., 30
Kushelev-Bezborodko, G., 68, 69, 71, 74, 85, 158
Kvanvig, H. S., 62, 182
Lafargue, M., 144, 145
Landsman, J. I., 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 208, 214, 284
Lanfranchi, P., 120, 137, 139, 143
Launderville, D., 280, 281
Levy, R. D., 209
Lewis, G. S., 68, 177
Lichtenberger, H., 27
Lieberman, S., 178
Lies, L., 100
Lihachev, D. S., 69
Loewe, R., 178
Loretz, O., 209, 280
Lourié, B., xv, xvii, 4, 206, 276
Lunt, H. G., 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 81, 82
Lur'e, Ja. S., 157
Maher, M., 75
Macaskill, G., 64, 65
Mach, M., 178, 267
Maier, J., 182, 198
Maloney, G. A., 98
Marcus, R., 27
Margaliot, R., 178
Markus, J., 106
Marmorstein, A., 93
Martin, R. P., 99
May, H. G., 281
McCullough, W. S., 190
McGuckin, J. A., 100, 106
McNamara, M., 76
Meeks, W. A., 120, 138, 142, 144
Mettinger, T. N. D., 10, 11, 93, 94, 162, 163, 166, 167, 204, 205, 270
Meyer, H. A. W., 99
Michaeli, F., 93
Migne, J. P., xx
Milgrom, J., 209
Milik, J., 58, 64, 82, 178, 246
Miller, J. E., 281
Miltenova, A., 158
Montgomery, J. A., 124
Moore, G. F., 178
Moore, M. S., 187
Mopsik, C., 178
Morfill, W. R., 248
Morgan, M., 97
Morray-Jones, C. R. A., 86, 88, 97, 178, 190
Munoa, P., 28, 215, 218
Murmelstein, B., 98
Murtonen, A., 178
Najman, H., xviii, 112, 124, 127
Neusner, J., 42, 82, 120
Newman, C. C., 68, 177
Newsom, C., 97

Nickelsburg, G. W. E., 58, 159, 182, 184, 185, 245, 254
Niditch, S., 42
Novickij, P. P., 157
Odeberg, H., 82, 83, 119, 177, 178, 197, 201
Olson, D., 256, 257
Olyan, S., 68, 82, 83, 88
Orlov, A., xv, xvii, 4, 51, 59, 72, 79, 86, 103, 114, 120, 137, 138, 143, 145, 149, 159, 168, 174, 203, 206, 217, 218, 219, 229, 235, 238, 240, 246, 260, 270, 272, 276
Palmer, G. E. H., 92
Paulsen, D. L., 100
Pearson, B. A., 31
Pediah, H., 178
Pennington, A., 158
Petkanova, D., 158
Philonenko, M., 155, 157, 158, 164, 165, 166, 169, 172, 173, 203, 208, 210, 213, 222, 224, 233, 234, 272, 283, 284
Philonenko-Sayar, B., 155, 157, 158, 164, 165, 166, 169, 172, 173, 203, 208, 210, 213, 222, 224, 233, 234, 272, 283, 284
Pomerance, A., 36
Porfir'ev, I. Ja., 68, 69, 70, 71, 158
Pypin, A. N., 158
Quispel, G., 95, 97, 149, 224, 247
Reed, A. Y., 247, 261
Reeves, J. C., 24, 211, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 253, 254
Reindl, J., 68
Repp, F., 201
Rießler, P., 158
Ringgren, H., xx
Roberts, A., 106
Robertson, R. G., 34, 120, 138, 141, 150
Romanides, J. S., 102
Rosenberg, S., 112
Rowland, C., 16, 77, 114, 156, 157, 160, 186, 204, 214, 215, 217, 270, 274
Rubinkewicz, R., 27, 156, 157, 158, 159, 165, 166, 202, 214, 230, 231, 232, 274, 282, 283
Rubinstein, A., 242, 253
Ruelle, Ch.-Ém., 31
Ruffatto, K., 120, 138, 141
Russell, N., 18
Sacchi, P., 158
Salmina, M. A., 69
Sanders, E., 28
Schäfer, P., 6, 21, 26, 27, 35, 36, 42, 59, 77, 83, 97, 132, 168, 178, 180, 189, 190, 194, 198, 199, 264
Schiffman, L. H., 191
Schlatter, A., 99
Schlüter, M., 6, 21
Scholem, G., 21, 22, 23, 35, 40, 47, 49, 97, 100, 101, 105, 142, 156, 166, 174, 175, 178, 198, 199
Scott, J., 182
Scroggs, R., 99
Séd, N., 97
Segal, A., 38, 41, 42, 89, 149, 178, 247
Senina, K., xv
Seow, C. L., 226, 227
Shachter, J., 39
Sherrard, P., 92
Simon, M., 32, 131
Simpson-Housley, P., 182
Smith, M., 68, 96
Smith, J. Z., 82, 83, 84, 116, 118, 119
Snell, B., 137
Sokolov, M. N., 22 , 35, 52, 65, 125, 130, 196, 200, 237, 238, 244, 245, 251, 252, 256, 259, 265, 267, 283
Sparks, H. F. D., 68, 158
Sperber, A., 276

Sperling, H., 131
Sresnevskij, I. I., 85, 158, 172, 205
Staerk, W., 98
Starobinski-Safran, E., 120, 139
Stein, B., 94
Stein, S., 178
Stone, M. E., 24, 25, 28, 31, 43, 149, 155, 156, 230, 239, 248
Stroumsa, G. G., 29, 36, 100, 178
Stuckenbruck, L. T., xviii, 178, 246
Svjatskij, D., 69
Swartz, M. D., 97, 191, 198
Tantlevskij, I. R., 59
Testuz, M., 112
Thrall, M. E., 106
Tigchelaar, E. J. C., 124, 246
Tihomirov, M. N., 78
Tihonravov, N. S., 69, 71, 158
Tishby, I., 39, 57, 178
Tromp, J., 28, 120, 149
Uhlig, S., 246
Ulrich, E., 280
Urbach, E. E., 178, 198
Vaillant, A., 71
Vajda, G., 178
VanderKam, J., 58, 79, 80, 111, 112, 114, 117, 137, 139, 145, 146, 186, 187, 220, 229, 243, 251, 253, 258
van der Horst, P. W., 120, 121, 138, 142, 145, 147
van der Toorn, K., 186
Van De Water, R., 120
Vaneeva, E. I., 157
Vermes, G., 82, 83, 84, 87, 119
Vogt, E., 120
von Mutius, H. G., 6, 21
von Rad, G., 162
Vtoryh, N. M., 69
Waldstein, M., 28, 29
Ward, B., 4
Ware, K., 92
Weinfeld, M., 8, 9, 10, 11, 93, 94, 95, 161, 162, 163, 204, 209, 232, 270
Weiss, J., 99
Werline, R. A., 31
Wiencke, M., 120
Williams, A. J., 281
William Whitney, K., 168
Willis, J. T., xx
Wilson, I., 10, 204, 270
Wirszubski, Ch., 198
Wisse, F., 28, 29
Wolfson, E. R., 76, 113, 178
Wright, J. W., 280
Wright, D. P., 209
Yaron, K., 281
Zwi Werblowsky, R. J., 198

Subject Index

Aaron, 131, 187, 192
Abba Ammonas, 7
Abba Anthony, 6–8, 17
Abba Bessarion, 7
Abba Joseph, 7
Abba Lot, 7
Abba Pambo, 5–6
Abba Silvanus, 3–8
Abba Sisoes, 5–8
Abel, 136, 215
Abraham, 12, 16–17, 73, 75, 136, 155–156, 160, 164–166, 169, 172–173, 202–203, 206–214, 217, 219, 221, 228, 230–231, 233–234, 269, 270, 271, 274.
  as fighter against idols, 219–222
abyss, 211, 259
Adam, 5–6, 23–24, 27–34, 37–43, 46, 73, 97–104, 120, 124, 131–132, 136–137, 144, 149, 177, 186, 192, 201, 210–211, 238–241, 246–249, 255, 261, 266, 268, 271, 275–276, 278, 281, 283
  creation of, 33
  enthronement of, 28
  gigantic body of, 29, 42
  as king of the earth, 238
  name of, 30–32
  seven souls of, 28, 34
Adoil, 49–52, 54–66
  belly of, 51
  as foundation, 50–52
  luminosity of, 52
  as revealer, 52
  as starting point of creation, 51
Aeon of the Righteous, 50–64
Aḥer (Elisha ben Abuyah), 40–41
Akhuzan, 63–64
Alexander Polyhistor, 121, 138
Alexandrian diaspora, 31
Angel of the Lord, 166, 204–205, 226, 256
angelus interpres, 85, 140–141, 143, 158, 191, 203
anointed cherub, 278, 280, 282
  as model of perfection, 280
anthropomorphism, 10, 93, 156–157, 161–162, 204, 224, 229
Anthropomorphite controversy, 100
Anthropos, 51–52, 224
arboreal metaphors, 269–284
Ark, 94
Asael (ʿAsaʾel), 210–211, 238, 247, 259, 261
ascent to heaven, 184–185, 217–218, 237, 254
aural mysticism, 164–169, 171, 174, 204, 229, 234–235
Azazel, 209–212, 232, 257, 259
  as furnace of earth, 211
  as impure bird, 209–211
  Kavod of, 232
Azza, 148, 247, 260–262
Bar-Eshath, 159, 214, 221–228, 231, 271–272, 277–283
Bethel, 67

blood, 15, 33, 63, 80, 114, 145, 252
Chariot, Account of, 39, 41, 46, 89, 142, 151, 156–157, 171, 182, 185, 227, 274
Cherubim, 71, 73, 80–81, 93–95, 168, 182–184
Christ, 107–109, 200, 268
cosmology, 56
Creation, Account of, 49, 53, 142, 230, 278
Dan, 139, 244
deification, 18
Deuteronomic school, 9–11, 17, 161–166, 174, 205, 229, 270
Deuteronomistic materials, 11, 17, 94, 164, 166, 204–205, 270
dreams, 83, 85, 138–141
ecstatic experience, 4
Egypt, 30–31, 104, 272
Elijah, 11, 106, 163–164
Enmeduranki, king of Sippar, 62, 147
  as guardian of secrets, 62
Enoch, 12–15, 19–66, 75–82, 114–117, 129–150, 177–201, 262–264
  bodily ascent of, 37
  as choirmaster/liturgical director, 196, 262–266
  as cosmic dam, 58
  as expert in secrets, 143–144
  as governor of the world, 78–79
  heavenly counterpart of, 78
  incorruptibility of, 61–62
  luminosity of, 25, 60–61
  as measurer, 36
  as measurer of the Lord, 34
  as mediator, 136
  metamorphosis of, 38
  as priest, 182–188, 195–196
  as prince of the Presence, 78
  as prince of the world, 79
  as redeemer, 64–65, 133
  as revealer, 62–63
  righteousness of, 58
  as sacerdotal foundation, 63–64
  as scribe of righteousness, 58
  veneration of, 247
  as Youth, 197, 199, 200, 201
esoteric knowledge, 50, 82, 118, 142–143
Eve, 24, 98, 100, 186, 210, 239–240, 247, 255, 257, 275
Extent, Divine, 130–131, 146, 170–171, 203–204, 220, 224–227, 275
Ezekiel the Tragedian, 16, 111, 119–120, 122, 125, 135, 137, 141, 143, 146, 150
Ezra, 135
Face, Divine, 146, 150–151, 162, 199, 283
Flood, 40, 58, 143, 240
Foundation Stone, 57
"frozen" angel, 45, 151
Gabriel, 33–34, 117, 197–198, 200, 207, 257, 267
Garden of Eden, 24, 26–27, 39, 58, 186, 210, 239–240, 273, 275, 279, 281, 283
Giants, 143, 212, 237, 240, 243, 246, 249–252
glorification, 5, 7, 25
Glory, Divine, 3–6, 28, 75, 77, 93, 95, 99, 106–109, 162, 173, 206–207, 231, 234
guardians of the books, 65
Haluq (Deity's attire), 170
Hand of God, 34, 123, 125, 200
Haran, 220, 228
Hayyot (Living Creatures), 168, 170, 179–180, 191, 220, 264
heavenly counterpart, 59, 67, 75–87, 112–119, 122, 125, 127, 146, 148–150, 183, 190, 195, 234
Hell, 257

hesychasm, 101–102, 109
Hermon, Mount, 139, 237, 243–244, 250–251
Horeb, Mount, 11, 163–164
Ialdabaoth, 28
idolatry, 219, 221–222, 270, 281
idols, 219–221, 225, 228, 230–234, 269, 271, 278–279
Image, Divine, 33, 98, 101–102, 161
Isaac, 73–75
Kavod traditions, 1–151
Jacob, 67–88, 113–127, 145–147
  face of, 77
  heavenly counterpart of, 75–77
  image of, 77
Jesus, 246, 267–268
Josephus, 155, 159, 214
"Lesser YHWH," 174, 267
Levi, 234
mantic dream, 139
Mar-Umath, 221, 230–231
Melchisedek, 136, 234
Men of Faith, 65
Mēsu-Tree, 277–278
Merilo Pravednoe ("The Just Balance"), 78
Metatron, 21–45, 57–66, 114, 118–121, 129–135, 151, 166–168, 174, 177–202, 227, 235, 238, 240, 259–267, 267, 280
  as choirmaster, 179
  as foundation of the world, 57
  as "Lesser YHWH," 174
  as lord of the lower Chariot, 39
  as preexistent divine being, 40
  as priest, 179, 188–191
  as prince of the Presence, 197–199
  as prince over all princes, 179
  as prince of the world, 59
  as scribe, 41
  shining face of, 151
  tabernacle of, 179, 189
  as Youth, 179–181, 189, 199–201
Methuselah, 61, 129, 195
Michael, 42–43, 80, 87–88, 91, 93, 129, 174, 197, 201, 234, 246, 257, 266, 268
Moses, 5, 7–8, 10–11, 14, 16, 72, 95–96, 103, 111–126, 135–151
  heavenly counterpart of, 119, 146
  as immutable Standing One, 124
  shining face of, 151
mythologies of evil, 24, 211, 239–241, 258, 260
Name of God, 10–12, 17, 86, 124, 160–163, 166–168, 170, 173–178, 203–207, 217, 224, 229, 235, 267, 270
Nebuchadnezzar, 226
Nimrod, 228
Noah, 136, 240
oath, 243, 252
oil of resurrection, 91–92, 96, 129–132, 134
oneirocritic, 139
oneiromancy, 138–139
Ophannim, 73, 81, 170
opposition, angelic, 194, 261
oral law, chain of, 135
Origen, 107
origin of evil, 24, 239–240
Palaia (Explanatory), 69
Paradise of righteousness, 58
Pargod (heavenly curtain), 83, 190
paroket (earthly curtain), 190
Paul (apostle), 4, 99
Peniel/Penuel, 67, 83–84, 119
Phanuel, 82–85, 87–88, 118–119, 197, 257
Philo of Alexandria, 27, 30–31, 155, 159, 214, 257, 275
Priestly source, 8, 93, 161, 173, 209, 274

Prince of the Countenance (*sar happanim*), 25, 83–88, 111–119, 197, 202
Prince of Tyre, 277, 279, 281
Prince of the World, 59, 79
Protoanthropos, 38
protological tree, 277
Protoplast, 33, 38, 41, 43–47, 61, 131, 133, 224–225, 240–241, 246–247, 266, 268, 275–276, 278, 280–282
Pseudo-Macarius, 91–109
Pseudo-Philo, 228
Pseudo-Simeon, 91
psychopomps, 53, 206–209, 212, 237
Qedushah, 73, 169–171
Qur'an, 43, 246
R. Akiba, 21, 23, 42
R. Ishmael, 21, 23, 40, 45, 87, 126, 148, 189, 191–192, 194, 200, 227, 261
  as high priest, 191
R. Neḥuniah ben ha-Qanah, 6
Raguel, 120–121, 138–142, 150
Raphael, 197, 210, 257, 259
Righteous, The, 49–65, 189
  as cosmic entity, 56
  as foundation, 55
rivers of fire, 80
Sariel, 70, 82–85, 87–88, 118–119
Satan, 43, 211, 237, 240–241, 246–248, 255–258, 268
Satanail, 237–267
  as prince, 245–246
satans, 256–257
Seraphim, 73–74, 80–81, 95, 168, 179, 193, 263–264
Serpent, 210, 239–240, 275
Shekhinah, 169, 193, 264
Shem traditions, 3, 10–12, 153–283
Shemihazah, 238, 261
Shi'ur Qomah tradition, 21–38, 44–47, 59, 94, 96, 166–168, 174, 177, 181, 188–189, 195–197, 201, 203, 207, 213, 259, 263–266
Sinai, Mount, 5, 10–11, 95–96, 107–108, 112, 119, 121, 123–124, 127, 136, 140, 142, 150–151, 160, 163–164, 167, 192, 227, 229
Son of Man, 79, 81, 86, 114, 127, 145, 150, 223, 225, 239, 258, 279
Taboric light, 91, 101
Terah, 16, 158–159, 173, 214, 217–221, 225, 228–233, 269, 271–272, 278
three watchers, 260, 262
Torah, 36, 101, 135–137, 140, 187
trance, 6, 105–106, 208
transfiguration, 105–17
Tree of Life, 131
"two powers" controversy, 38, 40–43, 89, 149
Uriel, 82–85, 87–88, 118–119, 126–127, 141
Uzza, 148, 247, 260–262
veneration, angelic, 28, 32, 41–43, 148–149, 165–166, 169, 201, 235, 246–248, 258, 261–263, 266–268
Vereveil, 41, 53, 82, 118, 126
Vienna Codex, 200–201
Voice, Divine 10–11, 16–17, 160–165, 167, 171, 173, 175, 204–205, 217–218, 229–230, 235, 270, 272
Watchers, 168, 179, 239, 245, 257, 260, 262–263, 273
  as stars, 147–148
  their descent, 251
  their oath, 243, 251–252
  their petition, 243
  their silence, 251
  their transgression, 57

Yahoel, 17, 158, 165–170, 174, 202–212, 234
as angel of the Name, 166
as *angelus interpres*, 158
as bird of heaven, 203–207
as choirmaster, 168
as mediation of God's Name, 165–166
body of, 203
Zosimos of Panopolis, 31